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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

TUVA OBKOM CHIEF NOTES NEED FOR MORE PERSONAL INITIATIVE

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 6 Jan 87)
pp 11-15

[Article by G. Shirshin, Tuva Obkom first secretary, under the rubric "Acceleration Strategy: Innovation, Experience, and Problems": "Relying on the Creative Potential of Labor Collectives"]

[Text] The tasks of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and fulfilling the intensive plans of the second year of the five-year plan require that we fully mobilize each worker's thought, labor, and initiative for this purpose. The party committees and primary organizations of this autonomous republic are taking all possible measures to concentrate on bringing party work closer to human beings, to introduce conditions of broad-based democratism into it, relying on the creative potential of the masses.

Unfortunately, however, these extremely important requirements for restructuring do not always find reflection in the activities of our personnel. Many officials have not yet fully understood the necessity of concern for people as an important condition for improving their labor and public activity. While acknowledging the importance of the human factor from all the rostrums, they are, at the same time, continuously engaged in administration, in "prodding" their subordinates, concerned mostly with immediate matters, and give too little thought to the future prospects for production growth, or to the people who ensure its success. Such an approach cannot help affecting production indicators, the economic growth rate, and the implementation of major changes in all spheres of public life. We have still not succeeded with sufficient purpose and consistency in developing work to carry out the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures to Accelerate Economic and Social Development of the Tuva ASSR." Restructuring and converting the economy to an intensive path of development are proceeding too slowly. Quite a few labor collectives have not yet joined in the active struggle for a radical renovation of production organization and for highly productive, efficient labor.

Life dictates the necessity for taking genuine steps to expand openness, strengthen supervision from below, and deepen democratic foundations. It is only under such conditions that we can put into action a powerful lever of acceleration--the vital creativity of the masses. We view as our main task

making sure that the party committees, having repudiated cliches and stereotypes, stagnation and inertia, shift the center of gravity in their work to the primary party organizations and labor groups. Taking the human factor into consideration means being among people rather than above people. Every manager ought to pay more attention to human beings and, in making vitally important organizational decisions, rely more actively on the opinions of the authoritative majority and all working people.

Our autonomous republic contains quite a few examples of when powerful reserves of creativity, organization, and intensification of labor swing into action in places where the party organization and management organs have opened up scope for initiative, placed emphasis on economic accountability, and inculcated among people a sense of personal responsibility for providing high final results. But it is obviously premature to speak of the universal affirmation of such a style. It is often the case that enterprise and farm managers, operating in the old way, key their efforts primarily at fulfilling the plan at any price, neglecting the opinions of specialists and rank-and-file workers, and changing nothing in the organization of the production process. S. Khertek, director of the Teeli Sovkhoz, Bay-Tayginskiy Region, was too little concerned with the working and everyday-life conditions of the people under him. He did not always heed the workers' suggestions or implement them into the plans for solving the production problems confronting the farm. And so it turned out that the director was operating, so to speak, on his own, while the group was merely carrying out orders from above. What such a style of direction leads to is eloquently attested to by this farm's economic indicators: in 1986 the plan for wool sales to the state was fulfilled by only 79 percent, the number of sheep and cattle was reduced, while the incidence of plague among them increased five-fold. V. Trubinov, director of the Yeniseyskiy Sovkhoz, D. Kara-Sal, director of the Tuvinskiy Sovkhoz, V. Fedotov, manager of the Tuvinremstroy Trust, and M. Oorzhak, chief of the Chadansk Motor-Vehicle Transport Enterprise have also conducted business in a similar key, without relying on the opinions or the initiative of the rank-and-file workers and enclosing themselves within a circle of purely economic matters.

In each of the above-mentioned cases the defective management style was subjected to a principled evaluation at the party raykom and obkom bureaus. The inadmissability of operating by the old methods was pointed out very bluntly, and it was indicated that if a manager was incapable of restructuring his own style, he would no longer be entrusted with heading a labor group. They must learn to work under the conditions of an expanded democratism; they must not issue commands but rather uplift people, include them in active matters, and utilize the potential of the masses.

At the same time that our personnel are being influenced from above, let's achieve a situation whereby supervision on the activities of managers and a struggle against "arbitrary," command-type methods by management are energetically waged by the primary party organizations and labor groups themselves. With this purpose in mind, let's introduce on a broader basis such forms of work as, for example, accounts rendered at party meetings by those party members in charge of important sections. In Kyzyl alone more than 120 accounts by communist managers were heard in 1986; they have become

regular in the Ulug-Khemskiy and Kyzylskiy Rayons. And, as practical experience attests, many of them have produced a tangible effect.

Serious criticisms were directed at K. Chamzyn, chief of the Kyzyl Motor-Vehicle Transport Enterprise No. 1 during the discussion of his account at a party meeting. The communists stated forthrightly that he did not consult people enough, did not heed their suggestions, particularly those connected with improving the technical service's work, introducing brigade-type contracts, and permitting coarseness in his attitude toward subordinates. It should be acknowledged that the open criticism served as a good lesson to the communist K. Chamzyn. He has changed his conduct to a significant degree; democratism and collegiality have begun to appear more markedly in his management. And this has had an effect on improving the group's activity. The enterprise has begun to make steady earnings. In comparison with 1985, the volume of goods shipped has increased by more than 6 percent, while labor productivity has gone up by almost 5 percent.

The increase in responsibility among our personnel and the increased supervision of their activity by the primary party organizations have ensured definite positive shifts in all our work with regard to intensifying people's labor activities. Today more and more groups are characterized by initiatives on the part of workers, engineers, technicians, and specialists in the matter of introducing scientific and technical achievements, as well as advanced technologies. They participate effectively in working out plans and measures for modernizing and retooling enterprises, improving product quality, and strengthening savings and thrift systems. In some places valuable initiatives and beginnings have emerged.

But at the same time we cannot help recognizing that support for the new growth of innovation and putting people's creative potential into action are still half-baked and indecisive; frequently they are not brought to their logical conclusion. It is fine, of course, that certain workers and certain groups are achieving high results. But, after all, the main thing is that advanced labor methods be mastered as rapidly as possible at other enterprises and sovkhoses likewise, that the initiative sprout wings and become everyone's achievement. Here too, in the field of disseminating advanced experience, cases of people "spinning their wheels" are still quite frequent.

Year after year personal economies are introduced at the Tuvaasbest Combine imeni V.I. Lenin, and these have allowed the system of savings and thrift here to be strengthened considerably. But up to now such a form of work has not been sufficiently disseminated at Tuva's other enterprises. Adoption of sets of norms by the Tuvinstroy Trust has allowed the brigades of finishing workers from Construction Trust No. 48 to increase their labor productivity sharply. But this group's work experience, despite numerous decisions adopted for this purpose, has still not been widely disseminated among other groups in our republic.

Every such instance is an alarm signal, an example of how we sometimes have a pro forma approach, without the necessary initiative, to implementing workers' creative initiative. We see in what has happened a direct result of unfinished work on the part of party raykoms, the sectorial departments of the

CPSU Oblast Committee, and its buro. At the present time many initiatives engendered by the creativity and energy of the masses and directed at intensifying production, as well as at improving labor organization, have been taken into account by the party obkom; specific measures have been worked out and are being implemented to disseminate them widely.

Elimination of these and other shortcomings, the increased demands for good-quality party work, for turning it toward vital matters and toward people have made it necessary to bring about a more active restructuring of the style, forms, and methods of activity of the party committees and the primary party organizations. And we began with ourselves, with the departments of the party obkom. We are currently placing the main emphasis on organizational work in the provinces. The number of resolutions being adopted and measures being conducted has been reduced. Thus, during all of last year the obkom buro and secretariat adopted about 40 resolutions, i.e., about half the amount adopted in 1985. There has been a significant reduction in the number of documents directed to the lower-level party committees, as well as in the number of requests received by the obkom for all manner of references and information. But, of course, it is not just a matter of quantitative indicators. The main thing is the depth of work on each of the problems examined in the buro and the secretariat, the specificity and businesslike quality of the decisions being made, the singling out of the basic, most important, and urgent tasks.

Such an approach allows the secretaries and buro members, as well as the responsible officials of the obkom machinery to visit the provinces, to go out to the primary party organizations and labor groups in order to analyze and study thoroughly the most urgent problems, to organize the execution of the decisions, to study the attitudes of the broad masses, their needs and requirements.

But, of course, we have taken only the very first steps. We cannot, for example, be satisfied with the fact that, in many cases, the business trips taken by our comrades have remained quite inefficient. The number of such trips has grown, and this is gratifying, but can we really talk about restructuring if a staff member's visit to a primary organization leaves no noticeable traces and is limited to glancing over some papers and gathering some statistical data? The vital process of restructuring presupposes a complete repudiation of formalism, bureaucratic gestures, and inertia. We must go to the people, go with a desire to enrich ourselves with the opinion of the masses, and to render practical aid. And it is only from the standpoint of practical results that we can try to evaluate today the effectiveness of the business trips of this or that comrade.

Certain changes for the better are also occurring in the rayon unit, although stereotypes, inertia, formalism, and a lack of understanding of present-day requirements still manifest themselves frequently. An unjustifiable slowness in restructuring its own style of work has been manifested by the Barun-Khemchinskiy CPSU Raykom and by its first secretary, B. Nurzat. The officials of the party raykom have a penchant for an office style of management; they prefer meetings and conferences, they like to summon a large number of comrades from the provinces, very often, moreover, without any need for this. Not enough is being done to increase the independence and militancy of the

primary party organizations: they are rarely consulted in solving production problems, in promoting personnel, or in examining the personal matters of communists. Such an attitude, naturally, does not stimulate activism among the labor groups and primary party cells which are the principal units of restructuring. The rayon has many lagging farms, and cattle plague has been increasing.

Similar shortcomings also characterize the Bay-Tayginskiy (first secretary, A. Dembirel) and Sut-Kholskiy (first secretary, M. Oorzhak) party raykoms. Their activities were subjected to sharp criticism at a plenum of the CPSU Obkom. They were presented with the following demands: radically restructure your style of work, and, above all, pay attention to getting closer to the labor groups and primary party organizations, take all measures to develop the initiative, as well as the political and business-type activity of the workers, arouse their creative energy and their intolerance of shortcomings.

Today every worker, every laboring person must be involved in everything. He has a right and a duty to make suggestions and remarks, to utter frank, principled criticism. We view our own task as making sure that nobody remains on the sidelines of the acceleration process, takes a passive view of the changes taking place, or remains indifferent to shortcomings--to everything retarding our forward progress. To do this, we are paying particular attention to restructuring the work of the primary party organizations and developing their militancy, independence, and capacity to rally and mobilize the working people to solve specific economic and social tasks. For of course it is precisely the primary party organizations, comprising the political nucleus of the labor groups and operating among the masses, that are called upon to translate the energy of thoughts into a stream of practical deeds, to play the leading role in activating the human factor, and to develop working people's principles and initiatives in the struggle against inertia, stagnation, and bureaucratism.

Development of healthy criticism and self-criticism is an indispensable condition of restructuring and an important means for indoctrinating communists as political fighters. It should be noted that criticism is an organic part of the life of the autonomous republic's labor groups and party organizations. By making critical remarks and suggestions, people manifest their concern for the common cause and help party committees to see and solve looming problems in advance and to provide a more objective and profound evaluation of the business, political, and moral qualities of communists, including managers. Thus in the course of past accounts and elections, as well as the first ones after the 27th CPSU Congress, about 1500 suggestions and critical remarks were made. They concern problems of production intensification, labor organization, the struggle to improve product quality, and many important social problems.

The plenums of many party committees are characterized by numerous businesslike and principled qualities, along with a critical attitude. Moreover, the members of the election organs express their criticism without regard to position or rank. And we universally support such an approach, regarding it as an effective means of educating personnel and improving the state of affairs in certain sections. Thus at a recent plenum of the CPSU

Obkom shepherds--members of the party oblast committee D. Kuzhuget and A. Chimit, along with other comrades, sharply criticized V. Postnikov and S. Buyanda, leading officials of the ministries of local industry and municipal services. The workers mentioned their concern that the republic did not care enough about creating small-gauge furniture for shepherds, nor has it set up a network for repairing television and radio sets.

The officials responsibly received these bitter but justifiable reproaches: they began to pay more attention to retooling enterprises in these sectors and improving production organization and working conditions. They successfully carried out the year plans for rendering consumer services to the public and improved the quality of their services.

But while we can speak about some positive shifts in the conduct of party committee plenums, unfortunately, the level of many party meetings still remains low. For it would seem that this is precisely where people's activism should be manifested, where they should freely discuss essential problems and ways to root out shortcomings. However, we have not yet managed to see to it that meetings are conducted sharply and in a businesslike way. This is so because the party committees and party buro have been unable to rethink the role of meetings as an important instrument of party democracy; they conduct them according to the commonly accepted scheme: a general, quite vague report, a few previously prepared remarks, and an impersonal resolution with no concrete applications to anyone.

Quite a few problems have accumulated at the Sovkhoz imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR, Tandinskiy Rayon. There are things to speak about to the communists and to the other workers of this farm--for example, about how to increase the head of cattle, improve working conditions for the livestock raisers, introduce brigade contracts, and increase the responsibility of the comrades heading up the production sections. But A. Belenkov, the party organization secretary, prefers to avoid sharp points. As a rule, his reports contain only a list of successes and achievements. And if shortcomings are mentioned, then it is merely in passing--without names or specific examples. Is it any surprise that many communists--and there are about 100 of them on this sovkhoz--have left active public work, do not distinguish themselves in production, and do not perform their vanguard roles?

Practical experience attests that passivity among the communists and rank-and-file workers is encountered most often where they have been insufficiently informed about events occurring in the republic, rayon, or their own group, where people are not informed about the causes and goals of certain actions taken by the managers. In such cases general matters and tasks become a kind of abstraction for a person; workers do not perceive them as a matter of vital concern. Hence there is a backsliding into such a parasitical psychology as follows: "I'm just a little guy; let the bosses handle restructuring." Meanwhile, we have not yet succeeded in solving the problem of openness the way the times require. A number of party committees, primarily the Kyzyl Gorkom, Tandinskiy and Dzun-Khemchikskiy Raykoms, have poorly informed the communists and working people about their decisions re the rayon's economic and social problems, or about existing difficulties and shortcomings. For example, the Tandinskiy CPSU Raykom, though it has the opportunity to inform

the workers widely via the rayon newspaper and local radio, nevertheless, has kept silent about violations of party discipline by communist managers, and this often gives rise to various false rumors and far-fetched ideas. Over the last two years this rayon's buro has dismissed 10 managers from their posts and punished them severely according to party procedures. But the reasons for firing people well-known in the rayon have not yet been explained to the rank-and-file workers. Clearly the CPSU Kyzyl Gorkom and Gorispolkom have not sufficiently informed the primary party organizations or the city's inhabitants about the solutions of acutely urgent problems of concern to all, connected with providing housing, children's preschool institutions, trade facilities, and municipal services. It must be admitted that the party obkom has not operated the way it should in this matter: openness must be expanded by all measures, there must be more frankness, and people must know everything going on around them. Herein lies one of the most important conditions for exhibiting their civic viewpoint and for increasing each person's contribution to the processes of acceleration and restructuring.

In correcting the situation, radically altering our approaches and attitude toward this matter, we are seeking out ways to renovate the forms and methods of ideological-educational and organizational work among the masses. Increasingly active use will be made of integrated political days with the participation of the republic's leading party, soviet, and management workers, open-letter days, and question-and-answer evenings. The activity of agitational quarters, of which there are now about 1,000, is becoming more and more widespread. Practical experience attests that this form corresponds to the specifics of our region and is feasible under the rural conditions. A village's territory is provisionally divided into 10 farmsteads, and in each village one of the farmsteads, as a rule the best one, becomes the center for the agitation and propaganda center. Its work is directed by a council which the inhabitants elect at a general meeting. The party organizations appoint agitators and propagandists.

The agitational quarters conduct work connected with explaining the decisions of the party and the government; they acquaint the workers and all inhabitants of the village with the urgent problems linked with the socioeconomic development of the country, the autonomous republic, the given rayon, and the sovkhos.

Accumulated experience prompts us to believe that all our propaganda and agitational mass work will produce the necessary effect only when it arouses a person to active deeds, to the conscious performance of his own duty, when it is organically linked with specific measures aimed at improving the conditions of people's work, daily life, and leisure--when people sense that there is a constant concern for them.

And, in this connection, the party obkom cannot help but be disturbed by the fact that in the social sphere many problems have accumulated whose solution we have placed in the top-priority category. Thus, an acute housing shortage is felt in cities and rural localities. Up to the present time approximately 1500 shepherd families have been living in yurts all year round. More than 40 percent of the children in this republic are not included by children's preschool institutions. The need for schools, municipal-service, and trade

enterprises has remained acute. The proportion of manual labor is high at many enterprises, organizations, and sovkhozes; the necessary production-line and everyday conditions have not been created for the working people.

The conclusion is obvious: the economic problems which have arisen are not to be solved on such a social base, whose development has lacked the necessary attention for many years. It is well known that where the party and soviet organs are fully engaged in the social sphere and vitally interested in how, for example, public dining facilities and stores are operating, what the situation is like in dormitories and hospitals, and what the working conditions are, as a rule, the production indicators improve more rapidly, while order and discipline are strengthened.

Guided by the positions taken at the 27th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee of the party, the obkoms have directed its personnel to solve the social problems without delay and to make a sharp turn toward the people's needs and requests. We are freeing ourselves in the most decisive manner possible from those persons who fail to understand the essence of present-day requirements or the party's strategic course aimed at increasing the prosperity of the Soviet people. So last year Yu. Chirkunov, director of the Kyzyl Stud Farm, A. Baygzhakov, director of the Rossiya Sovkhoz, and some other managers were dismissed from their jobs for not paying attention to conditions of people's work, everyday life, and leisure.

At the same time we are striving to take all measures to disseminate the best experience accumulated in the work groups; we are educating our personnel, based on the examples of those managers for whom the solution of production problems is indivisible from constant concern for the workers' vital needs. Because, of course, it is precisely on such farms and in such enterprises where an informal concerned approach is taken to people's needs that valuable initiatives and innovations emerge and where the energy of large concepts is transformed into action.

Attesting to this is the increasing attempt by workers to carry out the intensive plan assignments of the second year of the five-year plan honorably and to greet the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in a worthy manner. Thus, the group at the Kaa-Khemskiy Open-Pit Coal Mine has adopted a decision to fulfill the two-year plan by the time of the glorious anniversary. Workers at the Victory Sovkhoz, after weighing their own possibilities and thoroughly analyzing the internal reserves, pledged to complete the sale to the state of their agricultural products ahead of schedule, by 1 November 1967. The party committees and primary organizations are persistently working to see to it that every labor group and each worker are functioning just as energetically, productively, and with just as much initiative at the period which is so crucial for the country.

Every endeavor is put in motion by human beings. It is their activity which constitutes the foundation of all our successes. And we view our own duty and

most important task as constantly stimulating this activity, affirming social justice, and creating a favorable moral climate. Only such an approach will allow us to achieve tangible results along all the lines of socioeconomic acceleration.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

KEMEROVO OBKOM CHIEF URGES OPEN DISCUSSION OF CADRE APPOINTMENTS

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 2, Jan 87 (signed to press 6 Jan 87)
pp 26-30

[Article by N. Yermakov, Kemerovo Obkom first secretary, under the rubric "Restructure Party Work, Renovate Its Forms and Methods": "Learn To Work under the Conditions of Expanding Democracy Yourself and Teach Others"]

[Text] The party has linked the successful solution of the problems of restructuring with the further development of socialist democracy, including all its aspects and manifestations. The time which has elapsed since the 27th CPSU Congress has convincingly shown that converting the energy of ideas into the energy of deeds is impossible without new approaches in the style and methods of cadre work. The greatest results have been achieved by groups headed by those managers who have boldly proceeded to shatter outmoded stereotypes and repudiated the obsolete tendency toward over-organization and the bother of conferences, by those who have learned to work under the conditions of expanding democracy themselves and taught others to do likewise.

After the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee this oblast witnessed a determined replacement of officials who had proved incapable of handling the new tasks, who had lagged hopelessly behind, and, of course, those who had degenerated into the mire of money-grubbing and abuses. All this noticeably restored a healthy situation in the party organizations and labor collectives; it introduced a fresh tone into their work. And as a result, a favorable turn was noted in economic matters, work in the coal and chemical industries was stabilized, and the situation improved in construction, transportation, and in the sectors of the agroindustrial complex.

Of course, it would be a mistake to think that all personnel problems have been solved by the replacements which have been made. There are still managers who are failing to cope with the tasks entrusted to them or who are conducting themselves in an unseemly manner.

Take, for example, Yu. Torubarov, first secretary of the Kiselevsk Party Gorkom. He has spoken many correct words about restructuring but has done little to put an end to the command-and-paper-work type approach to solving urgent problems which has become rooted in the gorkom's work. Thus, last year

the gorkom buro removed from force the resolution which it had passed the year before regarding measures to carry out the program of the city's socioeconomic development. The resolution was not enforced and the construction program was not carried out, while about 8 million rubles' worth of construction and installation work was not done. And it was at this very same session that the buro again approved measures to speed up housing and municipal-service construction, further develop industrialization, and increase labor productivity. The party, trade-union organizations, and economic managers have been given a two-week period within which they must work out measures to provide radical changes in construction, as well as to carry out the plan assignments and the socialist pledges which have been adopted.

Behind the general words and demonstrative calls of the new resolution the main thing has not been provided for: a focusing on specific, practical results, capacities, and means with the aid of which they, these results, must be achieved. The newly adopted document is a model of red-tape, which has nothing in common with party leadership. In short, the work of the Kiselevsk Party Gorkom and its first secretary exhibits, as before, traces of the unique psychology which was condemned by the 27th CPSU Congress: to seem to be improving matters, while actually changing nothing.

Under the conditions of restructuring, the Leninist requirement that persons be promoted to leadership who are profoundly competent in technique, technology, and organization, as well as in up-to-date administrative methods, and who are capable organizers assumes particular urgency. Vladimir Ilich emphasized that no conscientiousness or party authority can replace what is basic in this case, namely: a knowledge of the matter at hand.

Recently the party obkom has been able to promote to management work quite a few trained captains of production capable of handling matters, if I may so express it, on an intensive basis, on the level of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress. And the fact that the Kuznetsk Basin is currently effecting a fundamental restructuring of its production organization on an up-to-date scientific and technical foundation and widely introducing advanced technology both in industry and in agriculture is largely due to the merit of our economic managers.

Nevertheless, the following must be frankly stated: we have not achieved a situation whereby all our management personnel have profoundly recognized the essence of the new requirements for management activity, which have set forth new conditions and correspondingly restructured the work. Many managers attempt to operate by the old, outmoded methods; they do not concentrate on the most important thing today--increasing the rate of socioeconomic development of an enterprise, association, or sector, accelerating scientific and technical progress, and intensifying production by all means. And all because the new tasks have proved to be beyond their capacities; such managers have lacked the experience, skills, and at times even the psychological preparedness.

For example, V. Dolgushin, general director of the Prokopevskugol Production Association, over the course of many years of working in this post became so accustomed to his position that his acuity of vision with regard to spotting

shortcomings became dull. This became particularly noticeable recently, when the agenda sharply presented the problem of mastering intensive, high-quality factors of economic growth. Instead of effectively solving the urgent problems of production organization, he continued to limit himself to half-baked measures and "running in place." And although business suffered because of this--the association gradually continued to yield the positions which it had previously gained until it was on the brink of disaster--the director was still full of self-confidence and a tendency to exaggerate his successes. The party obkom buro was compelled to issue him a severe reprimand with an entry made on his record, and it did not consider it feasible to retain him in his position.

Every official must do everything possible in the section assigned to him to solve urgent problems, manifest a state type of approach, initiative, and a healthy dissatisfaction with what has been achieved; in any complex situation he must find ways to attain the assigned goal. That is the way matters stand today. And indeed they cannot stand otherwise.

In this connection, we value the sense of responsibility shown by those managers who, without any prompting from the sidelines, leave their posts and turn them over to more energetic officials if they see that the new tasks are beyond their own powers.

It must be openly admitted that such officials, for whom restructuring has proved to be too much and who have themselves resolved the question of their retirement, are few in number. In most cases the party committees have to manifest the requisite severity in order to replace those managers who have obviously "stayed too long" and those who have allowed irresponsibility, stagnation, and conservatism in their work. To be sure, such severity is not always manifested effectively. Sometimes a party committee waits too long because of an inappropriate sense of delicacy, though it sees all too well that the manager is not "making the grade." Also exerting an effect is the force of inertia, the habit of using correct words about a careful attitude toward personnel to cover up one's own easygoing and all-forgiving tendency. Too often a necessary trust in officials has been a substitute for a blind faith and, essentially a lack of control.

That is why the most important task for the oblast party organization in working with cadres is still increasing standards for the tasks assigned to them, incultating in them the ability to work in the new way, and to achieve, in fact, an acceleration in the rate of economic and social development.

Listening carefully in party organizations, raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms to the reports by communist managers, including party-committee first secretaries, is becoming a firm part of our work. Some experience accumulated here attests that if reports are delivered in a principled situation with high standards, are closely linked to the specific problems which the labor groups and party organizations are solving, it substantially expands the possibilities of the party to influence production, social matters, improvement in ideological-educational work, and the entire moral-political atmosphere; it facilitates an increase in the responsibility of personnel for the sections entrusted to them.

Recently, for example, the Kemerovo Party Gorkom Buro listened to a report by M. Ilyashchenko, first secretary of the Leninsk Party Raykom. The buro members focused their attention on the existing shortcomings in the first secretary's style of work. We noted, in particular, that it has not manifested the necessary concern for strengthening the party's influence in the most important production sections or on the service fields. There is not enough consultation with the party raykom secretaries, and often the officials of the rayispolkom are passed over in solving problems within their fields of competence. With regard to the staff members of the raykom's apparatus, he has at times exhibited elements of an excessively close supervision, which greatly inhibits their independence. He has exhibited a lack of objectivity and a hastiness in evaluating personnel activity, and he reacts poorly to criticism. The party gorkom buro has recommended that M. Ilyashchenko self-critically examine his work style, take a good look at his own omissions, miscalculations, and errors, and not try to justify his lag in many lines of work by citing various extenuating circumstances.

In specifying the principal line of personnel policy, V.I. Lenin pointed out that the "masses must have the right to elect their own responsible officials. The masses must have the right to replace them, plus the right to know and check up on the smallest step of their activity."

In complete accordance with these Leninist positions, the CPSU Charter, as approved by the 27th CPSU Congress included a provision that the primary party organization actively participate in carrying out the party's cadre policy.

It must be confessed that we have become accustomed to deciding cadre questions in private, without broad public opinions, and without even advising the candidate for the post himself ahead of time. It is well known what the lack of collegiality and a broad openness lead to in deciding personnel matters: persons are appointed to posts who turn out to be incompetent or, as V.I. Lenin said, incorrigible windbags who "conduct conferences and discussions but do actually nothing." And one has encountered officials who assume that the position itself ensures them authority and respect. They usually lived with old "baggage," did not work to improve themselves, and, naturally, botched any task assigned to them. The private way of doing things also led to a situation where persons were appointed to management positions because of personal preferences, nepotism, etc.

An alternative to such a defective approach to cadre work is an open selection, a multifaceted, motivated discussion of the candidates for management positions, a wide dissemination of the electoral principle. After all, people and the group can see better who is more worthy of being a manager. And so we decided to proceed to frankness and openness in personnel work, in other words, to introduce it under the conditions of expanding democracy.

At first there was some apprehension: would we be able to overcome the old stereotype here, to get away from over-organization and formalism? Wouldn't

the opinion of the party organ put pressure on the group--because, of course, the initial discussion of a candidate begins, as a rule, in the party building.

We began with the idea that, upon the initiative of the party obkom, and with the participation of its representatives in a number of party organizations, the very idea of the open nomination of candidates was submitted for approval. It was important for us not simply to know but to sense the mood of the communists, their attitude toward the innovation.

But our doubts were dispersed by the first party meetings where candidates were considered for nomination. You should have seen the profound interest the communists showed in discussing the merits and shortcomings of future officials.

At the Kemerovo Aviation Enterprise a discussion was held on nominating a new commander for the aviation unit. The situation in the group at that time could not be considered normal. The previous manager, although he had worked at the enterprise for a long time, had been unable to improve matters. A new commander was needed who would be able, together with the party organization, to change the atmosphere in the group as soon as possible and solve the accumulated problems. The party committee nominated I. Valov, the head of the flight unit, for this post. Discussion at the meeting was direct and open. The speakers talked mainly about the troubles, shortcomings, unused reserves, and urgent problems, whose solution they linked, to a large degree, with the work style of the former manager, with his qualities as an organizer and mentor.

It was obvious from the tone of the meeting that I. Valov was favored by many persons. The speakers emphasized his large work capacity, competence, and high standards toward himself and his subordinates. The meeting listened to all who wished to speak and then adopted by an absolute majority a resolution to recommend I. Valov to the post of head of the Kemerovo Aviation Enterprise. Taking this into account, the West Siberian Civil Aviation issued an order concerning his appointment.

This method was used to choose the top official at one of the oblast's largest enterprises--the West Siberian Metallurgical Combine. This is one of the oblast's leading enterprises; more than 30,000 persons are employed in its shops.

When the question arose of the candidacy of B. Kustoyev, the combine's chief engineer, for the post of director (the previous one had been appointed a deputy minister), it was decided to consult the group. For several days on the production lines and in the shops an active, motivated discussion took place, and its results were then submitted for consideration by the combine's party committee.

A principled exchange of opinions had occurred. The workers spoke not only about Kustoyev's merits but also about his shortcomings: fair-minded but a bit too abrupt, does not pay enough attention to auxiliary production. In short, the chief engineer had to look at himself from another angle and to

draw the necessary conclusions. It can be stated with satisfaction that the new director began with an active realization of the remarks and suggestions which the workers made about him. The combine's group has continued to work in a stable manner. Recently the CPSU Central Committee approved the work experience of this combine's party organization and labor group with regard to product deliveries in accordance with its contractual obligations. This places a special responsibility on the communists, managers, and the entire group of this combine, and we hope that the metallurgists will not let us down.

During the last six months more than 2,000 persons have been nominated for management posts, taking into account the discussions held in party organizations. A total of 24 candidacies did not pass the certification, if I may put it that way, of their comrades. Although, to judge by their resumes, they would seem to have been suitable for nomination. This has once again convinced us of the vital need for widespread openness in deciding personnel matters.

Currently all candidates nominated for posts included on the roster of the party obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms are being presented for consideration by a party meeting, where decisions are also made on recommendations for a nomination, and party characteristics are confirmed. Thereby a reliable shield is put up against protectionism, preference for fellow-countrymen, or a superficial selection in nominating officials for a management post.

We have also approached work with cadre reserves in a new way. Let me say straight out: the interests of the cause have long required the restructuring of this work, but we were hindered by formalism and conservatism, when all the activity of preparing reserves boiled down to compiling a list in the quiet of our offices and writing down stereotyped characteristics of the future managers. With such an approach there could be no talk of any system for forming, training, or utilizing reserves. Hence difficulties arose in selecting people; quite a few positions remained vacant for a long time, or officials were nominated who were untried, poorly trained, and did not possess the needed qualities.

How should we overcome formalism and inertia in creating and training reserves? The answer was prompted by the 27th CPSU Congress: expand openness and develop democratic principles in this important matter.

After consulting with the activists, the obkom buro approved a provision on working with the reserves of personnel included on the rosters of the party committees. Now the question of inclusion in the reserves is examined preliminarily at a session of the party committee or buro of the primary organization where the candidate is registered. Then the candidacy is approved in the buro of the party obkom, gorkom, or raykom. This is immediately announced to the person listed in the reserves as well as in the group's party organization. The forms of working with reserves are specified as follows: conferences in the party committees and party buros, reports in party organizations, a probationary period of work under experienced officials, as well as active work in party, soviet, and public organizations.

A procedure has also been established for removing from the reserves those who have not justified the trust placed in them by their comrades in the party organizations.

As practical experience has shown, such a system of working with reserve cadres makes it possible not only to replace weak officials with more skilled ones in good time but also to keep in the field of vision and constantly verify the political, business, and moral qualities of the people in the reserves, to help them to consistently master new levels in their work. Moreover, we see to it that the rise of personnel is natural, i.e., that people are nominated to the more responsible posts who have passed through the school of lower-level work, so that a comrade being recommended to a high post has worked sufficiently and has a good knowledge of the activity of the sub-departmental organizations.

Restructuring has advanced our best personnel to the forefront. They have gained their positions by their personal contributions to the nationwide cause and by their fruitful work. This is also attested by the results of the activities of the oblast's labor collectives in the first year of the 12th Five-Year Plan. The plan for product sales was fulfilled. Some 2.5 million tons of coal over plan were mined, and the quotas for the production of cast iron, steel, rolled metal, and cement were also over-fulfilled. The volume of industrial production grew 4 percent compared to last year's level, while the planned rate was 2.5 percent; almost the whole growth was due to increased labor productivity.

There are even more complex and responsible tasks ahead of us. In order to cope with them successfully, the party organizations will continue to improve cadre work and make sure that right-minded persons are appointed to management posts, who are receptive to innovation and incapable of resting on their laurels for even a minute.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LENINGRAD GORKOM PLENUM REPORTED

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 86 p 1

[LenTASS Report: "Great Culture, Exemplary Cleanliness and Order for Leningrad: The Leningrad CPSU Gorkom Plenum"]

[Text] The city in which we live is our common home, and we are all equally interested in its becoming better, lovelier and more amenable to life. This is precisely the goal sought by the socialist competition conceived 10 years ago under the motto: "Great Culture, Exemplary Cleanliness and Order for Leningrad". The subjects of how to infuse it with a qualitatively new essence, how to impart to it greater effectiveness and derive greater results from it were taken up yesterday at the Leningrad Gorkom Plenum, during a discussion of the organizational work being done by the Zhdanovskiy party raykom to further improve this competition.

A. N. Gerasimov, who is first secretary of the Leningrad Gorkom, opened the plenum.

Then I. A. Koraakov, first secretary of the Zhdanov party raykom delivered an address.

During the plenum it was emphasized that a great deal has been done as part of the movement for great culture, exemplary cleanliness and order: the competition has gained widespread popularity, and the problems of environmental improvement, mechanization of street and highway cleaning, and maintenance of the well-groomed external appearance of the territory are all being solved. Labor collectives, led by the example of the Svetlana Association, are helping the city's microrayons in these efforts, along with the municipal services. Thanks to this, above-plan civic improvements amounting to over R400 million in enterprises' assets were carried out during the last five-year plan period alone.

First Secretary of the Vyborgskiy Party Raykom V. I. Frolov and Secretary of the Zavod Bolshevik Association party committee told the plenum of the accumulated work experience of their party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and Soviet organs in developing this competition. They said that the strategic course of restructuring and acceleration worked out by the party at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and further developed at

the 27th CPSU Congress, represents a broad field for initiative and creativity as regards the entire complex of problems taken up at the plenum, and requires that obsolete approaches be discarded and former achievements undergo critical scrutiny.

In evaluating the results which have been obtained based on these positions, the plenum participants noted that these results can and must be more substantial. We citizens of Leningrad are fully capable of transforming our home city into a model for all aspects of social and spiritual life. We have deep long-standing traditions and a broad range of opportunities to help us, all of which we need to use more fully. We should work more actively to eradicate shortcomings and formalism in the competition for high culture, exemplary cleanliness and order. The present level of the competition does not fully correspond to the spirit of renewal so graphically evident in the example of the Zhdanovskiy Rayon. The party raykom has not yet clearly defined its role within the system of competition leadership, and has provided no comprehensive approach to solving the more urgent problems. Attention has frequently been concentrated on solving the current, and sometimes trivial problems which have no real impact on the state of affairs. As a result, the territories of a number of enterprises in the Kolomyagi Industrial Zone and sections of the Chernaya River bank have long been in a state of disrepair in this rayon. Improvements of Quarter No 9 of the former Komendantskiy Airfield have gone uncompleted since 1976, and the Dolgoye Island microrayon build-up has been proceeding in haphazard fashion. Needed measures are not being taken to increase the quantity of available housing. Too little emphasis is being given to dormitory facilities. The residential work with the population does not correspond to the stated demand. The ispolkom of the rayon Soviet, in behaving too passively in solving social problems and in failing to make full use of the rights granted to it, has failed genuinely to take charge of its territory.

As noted by the speakers, the practice of not working to one's full potential, which is typical of the residents of the Zhdanov Rayon, is also largely characteristic of Leningrad's other rayons, where this competition has also failed to become an effective motivation for improving social matters. The situation with respect to available housing, roads and pavement is causing some dissatisfaction. The appearance of many of the buildings, courtyards and streets, gardens and public gardens is quite unattractive. A number of instances of disrepair have shown up, particularly during the operation of engineering equipment. These cases have not always been remedied, and this has caused people serious inconvenience. For example, last week in the Frunzenskiy Rayon, 24 apartment houses were left without heat for over two days.

As emphasized during the plenum, analysis shows that the Intensification-90 Program and social restructuring are moving slowly. The Leningrad Gorkom and party raykoms led by the CPSU Obkom recently took effective steps to speed them up. The manner in which the communists working in municipal economy sectors are implementing the outlined measures was recounted in the speeches of integrated brigade leader, driver in Spetsstran Administration Motor Vehicle

Pool No 3 and Hero of Socialist Labor V. S. Vondrukhov and N. V. Makeyeva, route service operator on the Lenmetropolitén [Leningrad Subway] imeni V. I. Lenin.

The party organizations are steadily expanding the vanguard role of CPSU members, bringing every workplace to order and improving production and labor discipline.

The speakers criticized directors who, instead of seeking constructive ways to improve work, try to justify themselves by searching for so-called "objective" causes and arguments, trying to shed themselves of responsibility. What such an attitude sometimes leads to is graphically evidenced by our new construction projects. In recent years, the question of constructing them in coordinated fashion has been raised repeatedly. But because of uncoordinated planning, design miscalculations and a lack of coordination among the links of the construction conveyor, as has always been the case, the engineering preparation of the new territories and the construction of social and cultural service facilities continues to lag behind housing construction.

However, as noted at the plenum by Chief of the Main Architectural and Planning Administration of the Leningrad Soviet Ispolkom V. I. Nikitin, instead of a cardinal resolution of the problem, once again the air is filled with talk about the shortage of capacities and opened-up territories, once again there are proposals to introduce "reduced" start-up complexes, various "winter" alternatives and "temporary" civic improvements. The need was emphasized for the Leningrad Soviet Ispolkom's Planning Commission to play a more active role, and for a build-up in the contract-work capacities of our construction and repair organizations.

As stated by Deputy Chairman of the Leningrad Soviet's Executive Committee A. S. Sokolov in his plenum address devoted to the questions of bringing to fruition the tasks outlined in the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers decree "Further Expansion of the Role and Responsibilities of the Soviets of People's Deputies in Accelerating Social and Economic Development in the Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress", we need more results from the work of the municipal civic improvements staff and the civic improvements department of the Leningrad Soviet Ispolkom and those of its other subdivisions involved in this effort, which up to now have had little impact on the state of affairs and which are failing to make effective use of the resources and assets allocated to them.

At the plenum, it was pointed out that the city's labor collectives must make a substantial contribution to the solution of social problems. N. F. Petrov, Lenoblsovprof [Leningrad Oblast Trade Union Council] emphasized that the transition to self-supporting production [samookupayemost] and self-financing, and the formation of considerable funds for social and cultural development represent additional opportunities for so doing, and that they need to be put to more energetic use. The above collectives should use their own resources to develop the construction of housing and of social-cultural and sports

facilities by actively bringing in production workers for the task. The goal should be to open services-related reception centers and order stores at every enterprise.

As regards party committees on all levels, the demand from economic, soviet and trade union officials relating to all questions of meeting demands and requests of laborers must be more strict and objective. Plenum participants mentioned the importance of consistently improving the working, living and leisure conditions of production workers, and of more widely disseminating the experience accumulated here in intensifying the use of fixed capital and the change-over to double- and triple-shift work by the Zavod Bolshevik Association.

The discussion turned to the need to review the system for leading and organizing the competition under the motto: "Great Culture, Exemplary Cleanliness and Order for Leningrad", to put it on a firm planning and organizational footing in both the municipal and the rayon units, and to work out the position vis-a-vis the competition in accordance with present-day needs. One of the principle shortcomings today is that the competition has at times been reduced to a once-per-quarter summing up relative to civic improvement indicators. And the tedious, routine organizational work within the labor collectives and with the population gets put to the side. This is exactly why the initiative of the residents of the Kalininskiy Rayon, which dealt with having their homes kept in good public condition was never disseminated. There are generally no such buildings in the Leninskiy, Oktyabrskiy, Smolninskiy, Frunzenskiy and Zhdanovskiy rayons. A great deal of the blame here is laid at the feet of the party organizations and Soviet agencies which failed to make strict demands on the residential administrations to see that the homes of the participants of this movement were taken care of publicly with needed materials and assets.

L. N. Shemetov, who is a painters' brigade leader of the Leningrad Soviet Ispolkom Capital Repair Administration's Repair and Construction Trust No 4, and V. M. Pakhomov, secretary of the Nevskiy Rayon Housing Services Association's Party Buro noted, not to take responsibility from those persons whose duty it is to keep apartment houses and public buildings clean, that people should constantly be reminded of the need to keep their buildings in order and to discard dependent attitudes. There is already a decided degree of experience in this area. Satisfactory results have always been obtained where the public has been taught concern for their cities. This has been proven, for example, in the work of many of Leningrad's citizens who voluntarily participate in restoring our ancient monuments.

It is particularly important that a considerate attitude be developed toward the good of the upcoming generation. As mentioned in the plenum, there are still a great many unresolved problems and difficulties here. The Komsomol has seriously underfulfilled its duties in this affair. Having declared, for example, its intention to see to the creation of the simplest sports facilities and playgrounds, the Komsomol members have failed to make enough of an effort to do so. The same happened with the "The City of Lenin is a Komsomol and Pioneer Concern!" operation, which was forgotten after a short while. No suitable area has been found into which to direct the efforts of

our elementary school and PTU [trade and technical school] students], even though there are a number of things they could do. N. G. Pakulina, who is a production training foreman of Secondary PTU No 79 gave examples of such efforts at the plenum. However, the movements to put adjoining territories into order, to look after green areas and to maintain and keep classrooms clean has not been generally disseminated. This is explained by and large by the absence in the collectives of students studying independently. It is important that the work of the educational organizations be more vigorously restructured and that we find serious matters for the children to deal with, and about which adolescents could comment with interest.

As emphasized in the plenum, an important role is played by the example of the elder generation in bringing up our youth with a love for their home cities and their common culture. An excellent practice has been gaining ground in the city, consisting of the tutorship of the best representatives of the working class and the intelligentsia over Leningrad's youngsters, and this is a practice which should be developed. But in order for this work to be made more effective, the young people need, in their everyday lives, for grownups to be examples worthy of full-scale emulation. In this connection, the importance of stirring up the fight against drunkenness and alcoholism and other negative social phenomena has also been underscored. There have been definite successes here: there have been fewer drunks on the city's streets and public places, and a marked shift has come about in public opinion in favor of sobriety. The war against drunkenness must be waged systematically, and must be conducted constantly and concretely. At the same time, it is far from having been thus put into action in all the collectives, according to statements made by V. I. Bogdanov, political department chief of the Main Administration for Internal Affairs of the Ispolkoms of the Leningrad Oblast and City Soviets of People's Deputies.

Intolerance of lawbreakers needs to become the order of the day in the labor collectives and at home. It was also mentioned that the law-enforcement agencies need to improve the organizational work of their services markedly, to raise the level of responsibility for eradicating violations, to improve their crime-prevention work, the coordination functions of the militia and the voluntary people's militia and the Komsomol's operational detachments.

In their arguments, the speakers placed a great deal of emphasis on the problems of bringing about radical improvements in the leisure time of the citizens of Leningrad, and improving at-home educational efforts. The subject of these talks turned to making the rayon sports and culture complexes more active, and getting the labor collectives to participate more purposefully with regard to the population's leisure time. It was suggested that the efforts carried out in residences be considered one of the communists' most crucial party tasks and that the structure of the territorial party organizations be reorganized in the microrayons. The need for the soviets of war and labor veterans, and the women's soviets which have been formed to be promptly included in the educational work was emphasized.

Deputy Chief of the Leningrad Soviet Ispolkom Health Care Administration and the city's Chief Sanitary Inspector V. I. Kurchanov directed everyone's

attention to the strict requirements placed on enterprise and organization managers to improve the sanitary upkeep of the urban area and to take steps to protect the environment.

The speakers noted that making Leningrad a city of exemplary order is inseparably linked with elevating the general culture of its residents and giving every person a feeling of pride in his city and of personal responsibility for everything happening around him. The cultural, literary and artistic workers and the mass information media are crucial to the complex work of inculcating these qualities. In analyzing their work, B. B. Piotrovskiy, director of the Hermitage State Museum, academician and Hero of Socialist Labor, G. A. Goryshin, governing board secretary of the Leningrad Writers' Organization and A. A. Yurkov, first deputy chairman of the Television and Radio Broadcasting Committee of the Leningrad Oblast and City Soviets of People's Deputies Ispolkoms discussed specific measures for increasing the contribution of a large group from the artistic intelligentsia and journalists in the general business of developing and deepening the traditions associated with Leningrad.

Those participating in the discussion emphasized that in preparing themselves for a worthy greeting to the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution, and having extensively supported the initiative of the Leningrad brigade leaders and worker-delegates of the 27th Party Congress to carry out the assignments for two years of the five-year plan ahead of time, the working people of the city and cradle of the revolution are pouring all their efforts into making a new and substantial contribution to the matter of turning the city into an example of great culture and order, and will give a worthy greeting to the anniversary date.

Secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Gorkom O. A. Ignatov gave a speech at the plenum.

An appropriate decree was adopted for the question under discussion.

S. G. Petrov, secretary of the Leningrad Party Gorkom delivered an address telling of the progress being made in carrying out the decree adopted by the plenum of the Leningrad CPSU Gorkom of 12 December 1984: "Tasks of the Party Organizations for Further Increasing the Output and Improving the Quality and Assortment of Consumer Goods, and for Raising the Level of the Population's Domestic Services in Light of the Requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress".

The decree on this question was adopted.

The plenum discussed a number of organizational questions.

In connection with the confirmation of Yu. A. Denisov as head of the Department of Science and Educational Institutions of the Leningrad Party Obkom, he has been relieved of his responsibilities as head of the Department of Science and Educational Institutions of the Leningrad CPSU Gorkom.

S. I. Ivanov was confirmed as head of the Department of Science and Educational Institutions of the Leningrad Party Gorkom. He formerly held the post of deputy head of this department.

In connection with his transfer to other work, V. A. Korin has been relieved of his duties as head of the Leningrad CPSU Gorkom Department of Trade and Domestic Services.

Yu. Ye. Petrov has been appointed head of the Department of Trade and Domestic Services of the Leningrad CPSU Gorkom. Prior to this, Petrov held the post of deputy head of this department.

Among those taking part in the work of the plenum were Candidate-Member of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Leningrad Party Obkom Yu. F. Solovyev and CPSU Obkom members A. Ya. Degtyarev, V. I. Korzhov, V. I. Meleshchenko, A. S. Tumanov, A. M. Fateyev and V. Ya. Kholyrev.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LENINGRAD OBKOM ON PAPER PROCESSING INDUSTRY, OTHER ISSUES

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 86 p 1

[LentASS report: "Within the CPSU Oblast Committee"]

[Text] At its regularly-scheduled meeting, the Bureau of the CPSU Obkom examined the work done by economic managers, party committees and enterprise and organization bureaus in the Leningrad city and oblast cellulose and paper industry regarding their implementation of the territorial and sectorial Intensification-90 program, their introduction of resource-saving technology and production methods, and environmental protection.

It was noted that the sector's labor collectives are making a purposeful effort to fulfill the tasks put forth by the CPSU Central Committee to accelerate scientific and technical progress, to seek out and use reserves to increase labor productivity, to economize on resources and to improve output quality. Plan assignments for the basic technical and economic indicators have been overfulfilled this year, and output production has increased compared to the period just past.

At the same time it was pointed out that certain economic managers are dragging their feet with regard to producing reserves for intensifying the economy and improving the ways in which developed scientific and technical potential is used, and are not persistent enough in solving long-term problems.

The influence of a number of primary party organizations, party committees and party buros on the restructuring process has been weakened. As a result, there has been no universal provision made for radically renovating physically worn-out productive capital, for expanding consumer goods production or for speeding up the solution of long-troublesome social problems. There are serious flaws in the protection afforded our water and air basins. Environmental protection measures are being carried out unsatisfactorily and the capital outlays allocated to these ends are being misused. The role of the scientific research organizations has been minimized in solving these problems and in a number of instances the sanitary inspection agencies have displayed an incorrect attitude.

The administrations of our scientific research and planning-and-design organizations and the vice-chancellor's offices of higher educational institutions are doing a poor job of directing labor collectives towards improving the effectiveness of developments or creating conditions for accelerating the introduction of scientific research into production.

The ispolkoms of the Oblast and City of Leningrad Soviets of People's Deputies are not having enough impact on the development of the cellulose and paper industry, and their planning commissions have been practically left out of the picture with regard to drawing up production plans, coordinating the efforts of industrial and machine-building enterprises, and sectoral and VUZ science, planning and design organizations, or in increasing the use of local resources and making the freight-shipping routes more efficient.

The Buro of the CPSU Obkom has ordered timber and forestry managers, primary party organizations of the sector's industrial enterprises, and research-and-development institutions to focus their efforts on more completely meeting the needs of the national economy for cellulose and paper industry products and consumer goods by extending the degree to which raw timber materials are processed and waste products are used, by increasing the workloads of its production capacities, by changing all its subdivisions over to two- and three-shift working schedules, by introducing high-capacity equipment and intensive production processes and by reducing negative environmental impact to the absolute minimum.

It has been suggested that CPSU gorkoms and raykoms, party committees and bureaus keep a close eye on the administration's efforts to intensify production, reduce the consumption of all those types of resources used to produce output, clean up the ecological situation in the areas affected by the enterprises and improve the workers' working and living conditions.

The ispolkoms of the Oblast and City of Leningrad Soviets of People's Deputies have been charged with jointly developing and approving, in the first half of 1987, coordinated measures to increase the effectiveness of the work being done by the cellulose and paper industry and to ensure that the program aimed at capital construction and renovation of those enterprises involved in housing and social and domestic facilities is carried out.

Directors of oblast and municipal public health and epidemiology centers, of the North-West Territorial Administration for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control and of the North-West Basin (territorial) Administration for Monitoring Water Utilization and Conservation have been shown the need for taking imperative additional steps aimed at safeguarding the water and air basins and at observing the standards for maximum allowable concentrations of harmful substances in industrial effluents and discharges.

A. S. Khlamenko, general director of the Bumaga Production Association in Leningrad has been severely reprimanded for the low technical level of his production and for poor output quality, and A. I. Gorokhov, secretary of the association party committee was named for his poor supervision of administration activity regarding the renovation and technical re-equipping of production.

Director of the Syas TsBK [Cellulose and Paper Combine] K. A. Khaydukov and A. I. Sokolov, secretary of the combine's party committee have been warned that they are personally responsible for sharply increasing the technical level of their production prior to 1990.

The Bureau of the CPSU Obkom has discussed additional measures for boosting housing construction volumes in Leningrad and the oblast during 1987-1988 and the subsequent years of the five-year plan period by bringing in enterprises and organizations from non-construction-related ministries and departments to build and renovate apartment houses and social, cultural and welfare facilities by using in-house works departments, by developing farmstead type housebuilding and by setting up young people's residential complexes.

The list has been examined which was compiled by the Commission for Party Supervision of the CPSU Obkom, concerning serious shortcomings in the work of the Scientific Research Institute for the Economy and Organization of Agricultural Production in the RSFSR's Non-Black-Earth Region. This work is related to carrying out decisions of the party and government to improve the effectiveness of scientific research in the matter of agricultural intensification.

R. E. Praust, NIIESKh [Scientific Research Institute of Experimental Agriculture] director, has been severely reprimanded and put on record as a result of his poor leadership and the low efficiency level of the work done at his institute, and for flagrant violations of established financial discipline and evident unethical behaviour in the disposition of private questions.

For his irresponsible attitude to mobilizing the collective to solve their assigned tasks, for failing to take measures to restructure their working style and methods in light of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee, L. V. Shtarev, secretary of the institute's party buro, was given a severe reprimand on his record. He has been relieved of his post.

After having examined the memorandum of the CPSU Obkom's Party Supervision Commission "The Unsatisfactory Work Done to Implement the Intensification-90 Program and to Develop Pisciculture", and because of deception in the Promrybvod [Fish-Breeding Industry] NPO [Scientific Production Association], L.A. Kuderskiy, the association's general director, has been expelled from the CPSU and I. T. Negonovskaya, party organization secretary, has been reprimanded. Both of these officials have been relieved of their positions.

The meeting of the Buro of the CPSU Obkom examined the measures aimed at forming women's councils within the labor collectives and residentially, at children's health care, as well as certain other economic and social questions.

12659
CSO: 1800/261

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

VORONEZH OBKOM PLENUM REVIEWED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by V. Mikhaylov and A. Pyatunin, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondents: "Old Approaches Get in the Way: From the Plenum of the Voronezh CPSU Obkom"]

[Text] It has been neither simple nor easy for the participants of this plenum: the Party Central Committee has called their collective organizational work to increase production and sales of livestock breeding products "unsatisfactory". Meat and milk production and purchases in the oblast have shown no growth during the past two five-year plan periods, almost half of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses are operating their livestock-breeding businesses at a loss, two-thirds of rural families do not own their own cows and our richest Black-earth oblast got 2-fold more grain from the state than it produced. Unfortunately, these stagnant events were not given honest or principled evaluations soon enough. Until recently, complacent attitudes foreign to the spirit of restructuring continued to take root in the oblast. And it was not until after the publication of the Central Committee's principled decree that the nature of the evaluations began to change. Oblast, city and rayon party committee workers have held a number of meetings with the party aktiv, wherein they frankly analyzed the situation which has developed. A unified political education day was held in the oblast, during which the communists and managers consulted with a wide circle of rural workers.

"The communists and workers came up with a number of business-like suggestions," noted obkom Secretary A. S. Yezhikov. "We have summarized them and they have been defined, along with the measures for their implementation."

The harsh evaluations of their work turned out to be unexpected for a number of oblast party committee apparatus workers. The strict party document was misinterpreted locally. In the kolkhozes and sovkhoses we managed to visit, the communists and non-party members unanimously announced: "The Central Committee decree completely expresses our evaluations and opinions."

It seems that the mood of the people has also had a beneficial effect on the work of the obkom plenum itself, adding strictness and emotionality to it. V.N. Ignatov, first secretary of the obkom, delivered a self-critical address. It was mentioned that the secretariat of the party obkom and the bureau of

party committees have done a poor job of exciting their staffs about restructuring, have done nothing to protect them from avalanches of paperwork and have failed to provide an example by resolutely rejecting anything that gets in the way of new leadership approaches. The notion of real local life held by the obkom secretaries who are in charge of departments and instructors frequently takes its form only through their familiarity with a stream of papers, figures and percentages. Even while visiting the rayon and primary party organizations, some obkom representatives continue to "rub shoulders" for the most part with information and not with people.

Much of what has been said, even if it was said from the rostrum, and then in softened, watered-down form, has now been heard bluntly and sharply. First Secretary of the Kashirskiy CPSU Raykom I. D. Shevtsov, L. I. Tarabrina, head of the 40th Anniversary of the October Revolution Dairy Farm in the Anninskiy Rayon along with other speakers proved convincingly that superficiality, bureaucratic rule from above, secret replacement and petty appraisals of the agroindustrial complex's administrative organs are actually being tolerated within the sector leadership. The oblast staff itself has shown itself unwilling to change over to genuinely scientific methods of economic management, substituting appeals and high-sounding aims for genuine reconstruction.

"Experienced specialists have been compelled to act in accordance with unoriginal concepts thrust upon them from above, and up to now the oblast has dictated our sowing schedule, which prevents us from introducing a scientifically substantiated farming system," said I. D. Shevtsov, in particular.

The plenum participants displayed a clear-cut conformity to established rules: the worst results occur where people are most carried away with bureaucratic rule from above. During the last five-year plan period in the Rossoshanskiy Rayon, for example, the volume of capital outlays for agriculture increased 2-fold plus, and the average annual production of gross output was actually reduced. Why? The Rossoshanskiy Gorkom and I. T. Kakotkin, its first secretary, use the "stuff it full and screw down the lid" method. The gorkom staff has all but become the dispatching center raised up both by the rayispolkom and the RAPO [Rayon Agroindustrial Association]. It is natural that this sort of authoritarian style does not guide the communists towards creative exploration or to well-coordinated work.

The plenum participants have justifiably based their hopes for a change for the better on the collective contract, and have put their heads together and worked out a unified point of view towards developing and improving it. They have resolutely condemned the formalism and percentage mania which have not yet died out. It was particularly stressed that unwarranted expansion in the number of contract subdivisions leads to wage-levelling, that smaller 3-5-person brigades and links are far more effective, and that they be assigned to work the land, the livestock and the means of production for long periods.

"We're on our second year of collective contract work," said N. V. Cherednikova, a milkmaid at the Petropavlovskiy Rayon's Peskovskiy Kolkhoz.

"It is said that it was introduced here, and that in fact only the milkmaids had any real interest in the excellent final result. The herdsmen and specialists stayed out of it."

The address delivered by I. V. Likhodedov, director of the Ostrogozhskiy Rayon's Quiet Don Kolkhoz--one of the most highly profitable--was permeated with the ideas and thoughts of the CC CPSU decree "Urgent Measures to Increase Agricultural Labor Productivity by Introducing Rational Organizational and Cost-Accounting Procedures. He visited the Ternovskiy Rayon in preparation for the plenum, and came back disturbed.

"They are not concerned with their outlays and don't put up much of a fight to make profits. The chief agronomist of one of the farms couldn't say how much they made per quintal of sunflower seed," Ivan Vladimirovich stated indignantly in his conversation with us. "We fight for every single kopeck, and they carry bags of money from the bank and give no thought to settling their accounts."

I. V. Likhodedov was naturally unable to go into detail at the plenum, but got his point across.

Many of the other speeches were distinguished by their severe and honest analysis. There were also suggestions on ways to bridge the gap. Sufficient assurances were heard which indicated that reconstruction is underway everywhere. But there was something else which could not help but cause everyone's ears to prick up: how both in the address itself as well as in the discussions, the old approaches have been left undiscussed, as always. For example, once again appeals were made to raykom first secretaries to perform RAPO functions. But how exactly did it come about that it was the agroindustrial complex's administrative agencies themselves which so often turned out to be incapable of handling purely production and agronomic questions? No profound or detailed answers to these questions were provided in the address, and this tells us a lot. At one time there were both agronomists and livestock specialists within Voronezh Oblast administrative units who were known and respected for how much they achieved, not so much by the orders they gave, but by the force of their authority; they were listened to and conferred with, and their names are still remembered. Are there still such people on the present oblast agroindustrial committee? Alas, not a single one of its present managers is known nationally. It looks as if the party obkom has lost the skill it once had to find specialists capable of being in charge, not in a formal manner, but based on their merits, of the agronomic, zootechnical, veterinarian and engineering services. That is why guardianship is needed and required for the primary task to which the party committees are unequal: that of taking care of the selection and education of the labor force. And that is why it is strange, to say the least, that so obviously little attention has been paid to this most fundamental problem. A major portion of the speech was also devoted to an analysis of the various production-related measures, and dozens of its pages could easily have been inserted into the speeches of the oblast's agroindustry managers. The speaker was more occupied with production technology than with the techniques of party work.

It's as if the party raykoms fixed the number of errors and blunders to be made by the obkom. However paradoxical it is, in preparing for the plenum they once again, and with startling obviousness, showed a devotion to technocratic methods of leadership which was not overcome until the end. Evidence of this can be found in "Some Suggestions of the City and Rayon Party Committees for Improving the Effectiveness of the Animal Breeding Sector's Leadership". They in the obkom reduced these suggestions down to a single document before the plenum. What exactly were they talking about? About the crossbreeding of sheep, subsurface pumps, about preferable sizes, with an accuracy of down to a hundredth of a hectare, for crop-sowing areas, about procurements of coniferous trees, about the "cold method" [kholodniy metod] for raising calves and even about what weight a heifer should reach by breeding age. As for the labor force, socialist competition, cost-accounting and the transition to economic management, not only did a number of party raykoms do nothing about working up their own suggestions, they didn't even come up with any.

A great deal of what determines the battle-readiness of the party organizations and the party committees was touched on briefly in the report and in discussions, but with no detailed analysis and no conclusions. How is it, for example, that in the face of the unjustifiably great number of managers and leading specialists who were replaced, those who had been ruining the business are still holding their leading positions? What is the party obkom doing, and what is it going to do to correct the labor force policy? The plenum failed to come up with a clear-cut answer to these sore spots, even though they are of almost primary interest to the Voronezh communists. In his article "Secrecy in Labor Force Selection" published in the oblast newspaper KOMMUNA, Ye. Znuravleva, who is a delegate to the 27th Party Congress, a member of the Bureau of the Bogucharskiy CPSU Raykom and a machine operator at the Red Partisan Kolkhoz, wrote "I speak frankly when I say that our farm's party committee and the raykom have to a great extent lost touch with real life, and are incapable of having a mobilizing influence on the working masses. In their work, they frequently use strong-willed methods, do not consult with the people, and fear public candor. And the party obkom tolerates this.

"In recent years, a great number of secretaries of rayon party committees, farm party committees and economic managers of kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been replaced. And what has changed? I'll answer that: in the majority of cases, there has been no change for the better."

It's fine that this article appeared in the oblast newspaper, but it's too bad that the discussion which was begun was not followed through in the plenum.

As we see, the plenum has left its impressions in a state of contradiction. We are apparently only taking the very first steps towards restructuring. The Voronezh communists still have a great deal to review and rethink. They are just beginning to be relieved of the burden of the old approaches, and they frequently look back to them. And a decisive and radical restructuring is needed. Half-measures won't do here.

V. K. Onisovets, deputy head of the CC CPSU Agriculture and Food Industry Department, addressed the plenum.

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

OREL OBKOM CHIEF RESPONDS TO NEWSPAPER ARTICLE

PM271317 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Feb 87 First Edition p 3

[Report by Ye. Stroyev, first secretary of Orel CPSU Obkom, under the rubric "Reply to Criticism": "'Trammals of Nepotism'"]

[Text] The article with this title published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 January 1987 was examined at a CPSU Obkom Bureau session. On the whole, it correctly indicated shortcomings in selecting, placing, and training leading cadres in Dolzhanskiy Rayon. The party Raykom Bureau, Raykom First Secretary Ye. Mikhaylov, Raykom Secretaries V. Kryuchkov and R. Chebotkova, and Organizational Section Chief V. Ryabokon were frequently unscrupulous in work with cadres and promoted workers related to them to individual leading posts in rayon organizations.

Party raykom workers sometimes took a liberal attitude to leaders who violated state discipline or abused their official position and moved the guilty people from one "leading" post to another. Despite reports of figure padding, deception, and mismanagement at a number of enterprises and the corroboration of these reports, timely and effective measures to eliminate them were not taken and the guilty persons did not always receive their just desserts. Thus, although I. Lyutikov, former director of the "Luganskiy" Sovkhoz, expelled from the party, was sentenced, execution of the sentence was deferred. After figure padding was exposed in the former rayon organization for the supply of production equipment for agriculture, Manager N. Uvarov and Chief Accountant L. Savelyeva were transferred to other organizations of chief specialists. V. Sokolov, chairman of the rayispolkom, and A. Fomin, chairman of the Rayon Agroindustrial Association, behaved unscrupulously in that situation. On learning that criminal proceedings had been instituted because of figure padding, they sent the prosecutor's office a letter in defense of Uvarov.

V. Kurdyukov remained in the post of senior engineer of the Road Repair and Construction Administration for a long time after committing a criminal offense. Principled assessments were not made of the actions of Rayispolkom Deputy Chairman A. Timokhin.

All that was made possible because Dolzhanskiy Party Raykom Bureau failed to draw the proper conclusions from the 27th Party Congress decisions and was unable to fundamentally restructure its work and enhance the responsibility of

cadres, primarily leading cadres, for the acceleration of socioeconomic development. The Raykom Bureau did not always act as an organ of political leadership, tolerated an uncritical approach to work, and poorly enhanced the role of primary party organizations in solving cadre questions.

Things were also affected by the fact that Ye. Mikhaylov had recently begun to experience difficulties in his work because of a serious illness. Doctors confirm that he can no longer do intensive work. Ye. Mikhaylov is now being treated in the hospital.

The CPSU Obkom Bureau drew the attention of Dolzhanskiy Party Raykom Bureau to the serious shortcomings in work with cadres. Note was taken of Ye. Mikhaylov's application to be released from the duties of first secretary of the CPSU Raykom in connection with his retirement on pension on health grounds.

Party Raykom Secretary R. Chebokkova was reprimanded for unscrupulousness in resolving questions of selecting and promoting cadres, and V. Ryabokon, chief of the raykom organizational section, was severely reprimanded.

A. Fomin, chairman of the Rayon Agroindustrial Association, was reprimanded for poor control over the work of leading cadres of the rayon agroindustrial association and for low exactingness toward them. Party Raykom Second Secretary V. Kryuchkov and Rayispolkom Chairman V. Sokolov were severely reprimanded for unscrupulousness and lack of self-criticism in assessing their own activity.

Note was taken of the fact that the party Raykom Bureau gave Rayispolkom Deputy Chairman A. Timokhin a severe reprimand, entered in his record card, for shortcomings in work and for driving a motor vehicle in a state of intoxication.

The oblast prosecutor's office was entrusted with examining questions of the legality of the construction of detached houses in the settlement of Dolgiy and of the rayon leading workers's residing in them.

Dolzhanskiy CPSU Raykom Bureau issued instructions that exhaustive measures be taken to eliminate the existing shortcomings in selecting, placing, and training leading cadres, being strictly guided in this by the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum.

The CPSU Obkom Bureau resolution has been published in the newspaper ORLOVSKAYA PRAVDA.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

AKHMETSKIY RAYKOM OFFICIALS CENSURED FOR SWINDLING

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 4 Dec 86 pp 1, 2

[Report by Gruzinform on Georgian CP Central Committee decision: "For Gross Violations of Party and State Discipline"; the first paragraph is ZARYA VOSTOKA introduction]

[Text] The Georgian CP Central Committee examined the question of the unsatisfactory work of the Akhmetskiy Party Raykom in regard to the securing of state discipline and the eradication of deception and padding.

In the decision that was adopted it is noted that the Akhmetskiy Party Raykom and other executive organs of the rayon have not drawn the proper conclusions from the instructions of the directive organs concerning the securing of strict order and discipline in the activity of enterprises, institutions and organizations and concerning the inadmissibility of cases of deception and fraud of the state. As a result, the practice of the distortion of the actual state of affairs and their embellishment through padded reports and other illegal methods was widespread in the rayon. In the majority of cases, it was the aspiration of a certain circle of officials to extract unearned income by means of the embezzlement of state funds and the perpetration of various intrigues which lay at the basis of this.

Cases of padding and deception have been exposed in almost every third enterprise or organization of the rayon during the past few years. In the Administration for Consumer Services they amounted to more than 130,000 rubles, in the sector for the repair and construction of housing on orders of the population--almost 400,000. In 1984, padding and theft in the procurement of grapes from the population amounting to 420,000 rubles were allowed. Large-scale intrigues, with the appropriation of significant state funds, were perpetrated in the procurement of rose-hips and other fruits. The diversion of funds and resources for the installation of projects not provided for by the plans and projects of an ostentatious and pompous character has become widespread, to the detriment of the solution of urgent social problems.

In such conditions, instead of the intensification of the struggle against deception, misappropriations and fraud, and the demand and exactingness toward executives, the first secretary of the party raykom, Z. Manizhashvili, himself came forward during the current year as the initiator and organizer of

illegal operations involving the procurement and sale of grapes to the population. The incorrect task given by him at a meeting in the raykom to the directors of enterprises and organizations to assist in the realization of the commodity turnover plan through the purchase of grapes by the workers in stores led to intrigues and deception. The sovkhos-produced grapes, registered as having been received in the stores for sale, in reality were handed over to the winery as procured from the population, and accounts were made out to the salesmen of the Rayon Union of Consumer Cooperatives. As a result, the same grapes showed up twice--in the fulfillment of the plans of commodity turnover and produce procurement. The difference between the retail and the purchase price of the grapes was covered through organized requisitions from workers in the enterprises and institutions of the rayon.

The timely disclosure of these facts through an audit by the republic organs made it possible to put a stop to the criminal intrigue, not allowing it to grow to significantly larger dimensions with the involvement of the majority of the population of the rayon.

The extremely unsatisfactory situation that has developed in Akhmetskiy Rayon in the sphere of strengthening state discipline and the disclosed facts of deception and intrigues involving the procurement and sale of grapes during the current year are the results of the disregard of the most important principles and norms of party work and a criminally negligent attitude toward work. The party raykom bureau and its first secretary consciously decided many questions of their activity from positions that are incompatible with the demands of the basic party documents and deliberately gave rise to an unhealthy atmosphere and various negative phenomena.

People with a clearly dubious past and an undesirable reputation were selected for executive posts, people inclined to intrigues and violations and easily agreeable to the execution of illegal instructions from above. Thus, on the personal recommendation of the first secretary of the party raykom, the director of the Akhmetskiy Canning Plant invited, from outside the republic, a certain Tskhovrebov, with whose active participation large-scale intrigues involving hips and other fruits were then carried out in the rayon.

Sh. Shavlokhov, who was previously convicted and excluded from the ranks of the CPSU and who was noted in his attempt to appropriate and other gross violations, was appointed deputy chairman of the Rayon Agro-Industrial Association. G. Ninkelashvili, a shop foreman in the system of local industry, who had made a mess of his work, was promoted to director of the biochemical plant. In March of this year he perpetrated an automobile accident while intoxicated, for which criminal proceedings were instituted against him and he was excluded from the ranks of the party. O. Noniashvili, who has a dubious reputation and was noted in improper actions and permitted gross violations in his work, was promoted to deputy chairman of the Rayon Union of Consumer Cooperatives and then to director of the Rayon Association for the Procurement, Processing and Trading of Agricultural Products. D. Omarashvili, who is without party affiliation, does not have party affiliation, and has the reputation of an operator in the rayon, was appointed director of the Retail Trade Association of the Rayon Union of Consumer Cooperatives.

Incorrect appointments to key economic and other posts, which spring from dubious motives and incentives, are also observed in regard to a number of other executives. Cadres selected from such positions were subsequently given open protection, their illegal actions did not receive a principled assessment, and the guilty ones walked away from strict party and at times criminal responsibility. Materials concerning cases of padding and deception were not sent to the administrative organs and were not made public.

In particular, the chief of the Administration for Consumer Services, Sh. Chichiklishvili, having permitted large-scale padding and having messed up the economic and financial activity of the organization, was promoted to head of the Financial Department of the rayispolkom. A. Shashiashvili, the director of the local industry combine, who permitted deception and forgery, G. Shvelashvili, the director of a public eating establishment, who permitted the abuse of official position, and A. Kharitonashvili, the chief of the laboratories of a canning plant, and others, went practically unpunished, enjoying the protection of the raykom.

The controlling and administrative organs of the rayon aimed for a conciliatory attitude toward the existing cases of padding, misappropriations, and abuses and did not actively seek to expose and prevent the violations. The party raykom closed its eyes to irregular actions being committed by the workers of these organs themselves.

The Georgian CP Central Committee established that the violations in the work of the Akhmetskiy Party Raykom were caused by the political immaturity of the first secretary, by his inability to improve his methods of work in the spirit of the demands of the time and to correctly analyze and assess his actions. Z. Manizhashvili did not draw the conclusions from the frequent critical remarks addressed to him at plenums and sessions of the Georgian CP Central Committee Bureau. Agreeing in words with the criticism, he stubbornly continued to use vicious methods in his work, permitting toleration of negative phenomena and an unprincipled and irresponsible approach to their bearers, and maintained an atmosphere of deception in the rayon.

By consciously advancing unworthy workers lacking in conscientiousness to executive positions and by manifesting an unprincipled attitude toward the misdeeds, irregular actions and dubious operations perpetrated by them, Z. Manizhashvili, in essence, discredited the policy of the party. The unjustified personnel appointments in the rayon were sometimes abetted by the former leadership of the Georgian CP Central Committee Department for Organizational Party Work (comrade Zh. K. Shartava).

In terms of their work and moral qualities, G. Zaridze, the chairman of the Rayispolkom, and D. Dzhavakhishvili, the chairman of the Rayon Agroindustrial Association, were not able to wage an active and principled struggle against negative phenomena. Other members of the Party Raykom Bureau also did not set an example of decisive and persistent struggle with violations of discipline, deception and fraud of the state.

The Raykom Bureau proved to be incapable of carrying out the function of political leadership on the requisite level and of defending the interests of the

cause and of society in a principled fashion. There has been a failure to realize effective measures aimed at increasing the role and responsibility of the lower levels of the party, the labor collectives and the ispolkoms of the local Soviets in strengthening state discipline and overcoming the negative phenomena that are widespread in the rayon; ideological and educational work has also been neglected.

The Georgian CP Central Committee underscored the political danger of a conciliatory attitude toward the manifestation of fraud of the state, cases of padding, deception, and other intrigues and abuses, and condemned the irresponsible approach of the Akhmetskiy Party Raykom to the implementation of the directives concerning the necessity of a decisive strengthening of state discipline in all sectors and an increase in the demands on executives. The work of the Akhmetskiy Party Raykom in this direction is recognized as unsatisfactory.

For failure in the work on the organization of the struggle against negative phenomena, an impermissible lack of principles in their assessment, a criminally negligent attitude toward work, and gross perversions of personnel policy, which called forth widespread cases of deception, misappropriations, and various sorts of intrigues in the rayon, the first secretary of the Akhmetskiy Party Raykom, Z. Manizhashvili, was excluded from the ranks of the CPSU and removed from the post he occupied.

For poor guidance of the socio-political life of the rayon, passivity in the struggle against existing negative phenomena, and an unprincipled position in the assessment of the gross violations of state discipline and their perpetrators, the Akhmetskiy Party Raykom Buro was given a strict evaluation.

The plenum of the Akhmetskiy Party Raykom was charged with examining the question of the responsibility of the bureau members and all officials involved in padding and deception, keeping in mind that those who permitted fraud of the state, as well as a liberal attitude toward the guilty ones, have neither the political nor the moral right to occupy executive posts and to remain in the ranks of the CPSU.

The Procuracy and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the republic were ordered to secure a timely and high-quality investigation of the criminal proceedings instituted in regard to the cases of padding, intrigues, and other misuses that were permitted during the current year in the sale and procurement of grapes in Akhmetskiy Rayon.

The obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms of the Georgian CP were charged with the comprehensive and principled discussion of the state of work in regard to the eradication of padding and deception and any other cases of fraud of the state, regarding them as a serious obstacle in the reorganization of work and a dangerous social evil.

The Georgian CP Central Committee also decided other concrete organizational and political measures with respect to the inadmissibility, in the activity of party, Soviet and economic organs, of cases analogous to those uncovered in Akhmetskiy Rayon.

8970

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

DECEMBER GEORGIAN CP CC BURO MEETINGS NOTE PROBLEM AREAS

Medical Institute Party Secretary Released

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 4 Dec 86 p 1

[Text] The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro examined the question of the unsatisfactory work of the Akhmetskiy Party Raykom with respect to securing state discipline and the eradication of deception and padding. Material on this question is being published.

Having heard the question of serious shortcomings in the work of the party committee of the Tbilisi State Medical Institute, the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro pronounced the work of the party committee in regard to the guidance of the primary organizations in the matter of improving the organization of educational training and scientific research activity, the eradication of negative phenomena, and the strengthening of discipline in the collective of the institute to be unsatisfactory. For serious shortcomings permitted in the guidance of the activity of the party committee, the secretary of the party committee, Z. Sekhniashvili was released from the post he occupied. The question of his party responsibility was turned over for examination of the party organization of the institute. All of the still existing shortcomings in the conduct of the admission examinations were pointed out to the rector's office of the institute in strict terms. The inadequate guidance and control over the activity of the party organization of the medical institute on the part of the Saburtalinskiy Party Raykom was noted.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro charged the Tbilisi Party Gorkom with taking exhaustive measures to eradicate the shortcomings in the work of the party committee of the Tbilisi Medical Institute.

Information provided by V. Batsikadze and O. Bichiashvili, chiefs of the Samtredia and Tbilisi departments of the Transcaucasian Railway and members of the CPSU, was heard at a session of the Central Committee Buro, concerning the implementation of the decree of the Georgian CP Central Committee on the introduction of the work experience of the party organizations and the labor collectives of the Belorussian Railway in regard to the acceleration of labor productivity growth rates. The work of the Samtredia department with respect to the introduction of the Belorussian method was pronounced inadequate. The management and the party organization of the department were charged with the adoption of urgent measures to eliminate the shortcomings that have been exposed.

The work of the Tbilisi department in connection with serious shortcomings in the introduction of the experience of the Belorussian railway workers and in the organization of operational activity was pronounced unsatisfactory.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Secretariat examined the question of the state of animal husbandry and the course of the wintering of cattle in the public farms of Aspindzskiy, Tianetskiy, and Samtredskiy rayons. The work of the party raykoms of the indicated rayons in this direction was pronounced inadequate. The Central Committee Secretariat noted the extremely unsatisfactory work of the agroindustrial associations of these rayons in the course of the preparation for wintering during 1986-1987, which found expression in the deterioration of the production indicators of the sector and the lowering of cattle productivity, and warned their managers that they bear personal responsibility for securing the organized execution of the wintering of cattle and for the state of affairs in animal husbandry. The exposition of the decree adopted in regard to this question will be published.

Other questions of the the socio-political and economic life of the republic were also reviewed at the sessions of the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro and Secretariat.

State Inspection, Air Service, Contracts

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 11 Dec 86 p 1

[Text] The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro discussed the course of the preparation of the Tbilisi Sabchota Sakartvelo Worsted Cloth Combine for the introduction, beginning in 1987, of the state receipt of production. Having noted certain work being done in this direction, the Central Committee Buro emphasized a number of unresolved questions. A fundamental change in the quality of the production being turned out has still not been attained, raw material, auxiliary materials and spare parts for equipment are being supplied unevenly and with assortment violation, and questions of the social plan are not being solved on the appropriate level. In the decree adopted in regard to this question, additional measures are outlined concerning the implementation, as of January 1, 1987, of the introduction of the state receipt of production in the combine.

In regard to questions of the preparation for work in the conditions of state receipt of production, information was heard from the following CPSU members: G. Tsintsadze, the director general of the Gruzpishchemash [Georgian Food Machinery] Production Association, and A. Siradze and K. Chikovani, the directors of the Rustavi Crane Construction Plant and the Poti Plant for Hydraulic Excavation. The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro noted shortcomings in the preparation for the transition to state receipt of production, obligated the directors and secretaries of the party organizations of the enterprises to remove the defects that have been exposed, and warned them concerning their personal responsibility for the organization of the entire work in this sphere. The Batumi, Rustavi, and Poti party gorkoms and the Oktyabrskiy Party Raykom of the city of Tbilisi were charged with strengthening control over the course of the preparation for state receipt.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro examined the question of serious shortcomings in the reorganization of the work of the Khashurskaya Rayon newspaper GAMARDZHVEBIS GZA in light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress. The work of the management and the primary party organization of the editorial board (editor--R. Sukhiashvili; secretary of the party organization--T. Gugadze) in this direction was pronounced unsatisfactory. The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro considered as inadequate the work of the Khashurskiy Party Raykom with respect to the reorganization of the rayon newspaper in light of contemporary requirements. The low level of party guidance of the rayon newspaper was pointed out to the Raykom Party Buro. An exposition of the decree adopted on this question will be published.

Having discussed the question of serious shortcomings in the activity of the Georgian Administration of Civil Aviation, the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro declared the work of the administration and the Tbilisi Aviation Enterprise with respect to the acceleration of discipline and organization in light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the June (1986) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee to be unsatisfactory. The chief of the Georgian Administration of Civil Aviation and CPSU member, K. Kurtanidze, was given a severe reprimand for the toleration of gross violations in the organization of air transports, serious shortcomings in passenger service, and disorders in airports and Aeroflot agencies. The Tbilisi Party Gorkom was charged with examining, on the basis of the results of the state of party, state and labor discipline in the Tbilisi Aviation Enterprise, the question of the personal responsibility of the commander of the aviation enterprise and CPSU member, T. Kupatadze.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro examined the question of the state of fulfillment of the contract obligations with respect to deliveries of products for January-November 1986. Considering the certain fulfillment of the plan for deliveries by all labor collectives as the most important task of economic, party and Soviet organs, the Central Committee Buro obligated the ministries, departments, associations and enterprises of the republic to decisively eradicate the reasons for the disruption in the realization of contract obligations and to make efforts to attain the unconditional fulfillment of the contracts. Note was taken of the unsatisfactory work of a number of production associations and enterprises with respect to the fulfillment of contract obligations. The Central Committee Buro called the attention of the secretaries of the Tbilisi, Kutaisi and Rustavi party gorkoms and the chairmen of the executive committees of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the indicated cities to the serious lagging of a number of enterprises of these reasons in the realization of the plans for contract deliveries and warned them about their personal responsibility for the proper order in this sector of work.

A joint decree of the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro and the GeSSR Council of Ministers concerning the improvement of the production activity of the Transcaucasian Railway and the strengthening of its material and technical base during the years 1986-1990 was adopted.

By way of control, the Central Committee Buro examined the course of the fulfillment of the decree of the Georgian CP Central Committee on the results of

the public audit and inspection of the preparedness of the national economy of the republic for the winter period 1986-1987. Having exposed shortcomings in the realization of the indicated decree, the Central Committee Buro called attention of the executives of the party and Soviet organs of a number of rayons of the republic to the necessity of a more objective control over the fulfillment of their own decisions in regard to the results of the audit and inspection and warned the executives of the ministries and departments about their personal responsibility for securing the regular work of enterprises and organizations, housing and cultural-consumer projects during the winter period.

Decisions concerning other questions of the socio-political and economic life of the republic were also adopted at the session of the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro.

Metallurgy Plant Work, Youth Training

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 18 Dec 86 p 1

[Text] At a session that was held on 16 December, the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro heard the report of G. Kashakashvili, director of the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant and CPSU member, on the preparedness of the enterprise for work in the new conditions of management and the transition to state receipt of production. The work being conducted in this direction by the management and the party committee of the enterprise was declared to be inadequate. The Central Committee Buro obligated the management and the party committee of the plant to take exhaustive measures in regard to the elimination of the exposed shortcomings and omissions.

The Rustavi Gorkom of the Georgian Communist Party was charged with establishing effective control over the securing of the stable work of the enterprise in the conditions of state receipt, the introduction of the new methods of management, the principles of cost accounting and the collective contract, and the conformity of the level of the economic knowledge of the workers with the demands of the day; with increasing the demand on economic managers and secretaries of the primary organizations; and with making fuller and more effective use of ideological work for increasing the political and social activeness of people.

Having reviewed the question of the course of the implementation of the decree of the Georgian CP Central Committee on the state and measures in regard to improving the work of the evening (shift) and workers' schools for the working youth in the light of the requirements of the Basic Directions of the Reform of the General Education and Vocational School, the Central Committee Buro noted that certain work has been done by the GeSSR Ministry of Education jointly with party, Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs in regard to the reorganization of the system and the optimization of the routine of the evening and correspondence school education and the elimination of shortcomings and violations in the organization of the studies of the working youth. The Central Committee Buro demanded the further activization of work in this direction and obligated the party committees of the republic to analyze periodically the state of evening and correspondence school education and to increase the responsibility

of the local organs of public education, the educational institutions, enterprises and organizations, and all pedagogical personnel, for the organization of the general education preparation of the working youth.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro, after discussing the work of the Georgian Maritime Steamship Line in regard to the guarantee of the safety of navigation, pronounced it inadequate. D. Chigvariya, the head of the steamship line and a CPSU member, was severely warned about the necessity of eliminating, within the shortest possible time, the shortcomings noted in the decree that was adopted and of accelerating the reorganization of the entire activity of the collective in light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. The attention of R. Beridze, the secretary of the party organization of the steamship line, was called to the failure to take the requisite measures to strengthen the party and political work with cadres. Concrete measures were outlined for the further improvement of the work of the steamship line.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro heard information from the first deputy procurator of the republic and CPSU member, V. Sharashenidze, about the work being done by the organs of the procuracy in regard to the realization of the demands of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Measures to Strengthen the Struggle Against Unearned Incomes." It was noted that the collegium and the party committee of the GeSSR Procuracy are taking measures with respect to the reorganization and reinforcement of procuratorial supervision of the strict and undeviating observance of the laws concerning the struggle against the extraction of unearned income and for the strengthening of socialist legality and law and order. At the same time, there are important shortcomings and omissions in this work--the procurators do not always manifest the necessary aggressiveness for the eradication of mercenary crimes and activeness and purposefulness in the organization of preventive work of the law enforcement organs.

As a result, a fundamental change has still not yet been attained in the work concerning the timely suppression and prevention of misappropriations of socialist property, padding, deception, the output of poor-quality production, malfeasances and economic crimes, bribery, speculation, drug addiction, and infringement on private property. At the same time, in a number of places it proved impossible to avoid twists and distortions in the practice of the application of the laws in the struggle against the extraction of unearned income.

The Central Committee Buro obligated the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms of the party and the leadership and the party organization of the republic's procuracy to implement additional measures in regard to the further intensification of the struggle against unearned incomes.

At the session of the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro decisions concerning other questions of the socio-political and economic life of the republic were also adopted.

Unearned Income, Self-Financing, Livestock

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Dec 86 p 1

[Text] At a regular session, the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro heard and discussed the report of the Abkhazskiy Party Obkom concerning work on the fulfillment of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Measures to Intensify the Struggle Against Unearned Income" and declared it to be inadequate. The attention of the party obkom was called to the necessity of giving this work a more systematic and purposeful character and involving in it more actively all state and public organizations, lower links of the party and labor collectives. The oblast, city, and rayon party committees of the autonomous republic were ordered to establish strict control over the realization of measures aimed at the intensification of the struggle against unearned income and to concentrate the main efforts in practical work directly in labor collectives and in the place of residence of people and on the creation everywhere of an atmosphere of high adherence to principle and exactingness, implacability toward violations of laws and the norms of the socialist way of life and management.

Questions of the degree of preparedness of the enterprises of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems located on the territory of the republic, as well as the ministries of the petroleum, gas, and coal industry in the new conditions of management were discussed. Having exposed the shortcomings existing in this matter, the Central Committee Buro pointed out to the executives and secretaries of the party organizations the necessity of the adoption of immediate measures in regard to the elimination of the existing omissions and warned them about their personal responsibility for the careful preparation for the transition to work in the conditions of complete cost accounting and self-financing, the increase of the quality of production and its presentation for state receipt. The party committees of the republic were charged with taking the necessary measures for the mobilization of the communists, all workers and organizations for the search and maximum utilization of the reserves for the increase of economic efficiency, and attaining the more active and creative activity of directors and their deputies with respect to economy and quality, the chief engineers--as the chief organizers of the operation of production in the new way.

Joint decrees of the Georgian CP Central Committee and the GeSSR Council of Ministers were adopted concerning measures in regard to the further development of the fine arts and the increase of their role in the communist education of the workers, as well as concerning the review of the results of the financial and economic activity of the agricultural enterprises during 1986 and the conduct of report and report and election meetings in the kolkhozes and inter-farm enterprises, and general meetings in the sovkhoses of the republic.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Secretariat heard information from O. Kvilitaya, member of the CPSU and chairman of the GeSSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, concerning measures in regard to the stable supply of material and technical resources of enterprises of union subordination that, as of 1 January 1987, are making the transition to work in conditions of full cost accounting and the state receipt of production. Having noted the active position of the republic State Committee for Material and Technical Supply in

the solution of the indicated questions, the Central Committee Secretariat demanded still more mobilization of all its subdivisions in this undertaking.

The Central Committee Secretariat reviewed the question of the reaction to the feuilleton "Blot on the Shell", published in the newspaper PRAVDA.

The criticism for the toleration of gross violations in the accounting, marking, and sale of livestock products, and the absence of requisite control on the part of the appropriate services of the Georgian Administration of the Poultry Raising Industry, the State Agroindustrial Committee, the Ministry of Trade of the republic, and the Georgian Republic Administration of the State Committee for Standards, was declared to be justified.

Having called the attention of the executives of the indicated organizations to the inadmissibility of the cases set forth in the feuilleton "Blot on the Shell", the Central Committee Secretariat demanded of them the strict observation of the established norms and rules in the production, marking and sale of products.

The obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms of the Communist Party of Georgia, the Councils of Ministers of the Abkhaz ASSR and the Adzhar ASSR, the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast, cities and rayons of the republic, were charged with the strict control of the execution of the established regulations for the sale of livestock products in enterprises, projects of the agroindustrial complex, and trade.

At the sessions of the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro and Secretariat, other questions of the national economic and socio-political life of the republic were also examined.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

UZBEK SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM ON COUNCILS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 6 Dec 86 p 4

[Article by G.G. Neklessa, editor: "In the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The session of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet which took place on 4 December examined questions connected with holding the Fourth Session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, Eleventh Convocation.

The participants discussed and approved proposals concerning the agenda and operating procedure for the highest organ of state power in this republic, the results of a preliminary examination of the Budget-Planning and other permanent commissions of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Uzbek SSR for 1987, the progress made in fulfilling the plan in 1986, the State Budget of the Uzbek SSR for 1987, and the report on the budget's performance during 1985. It was proposed to introduce the above-mentioned questions for the session's consideration.

Also examined here was the question of the work being done by the Uzbek SSR Councils of People's Deputies with regard to monitoring the observance of land legislation. It was noted that measures are being carried out in this republic for safeguarding and making optimal use of lands designated for agriculture.

Nevertheless, the ministries and departments, their structural sub-divisions, and the ispolkoms of the local Councils have been too slow in restructuring their own work along these lines; they have become accustomed to the gross violations of the land-use legislation which have become widespread everywhere. Great harm has been done to the land by the poor quality of irrigation-and-reclamation construction as well as by violations of the crop-rotation structures. The recultivation of lands is not being fully carried out. There are violations of the procedure established by law for allotting them to intra-farm construction and farmstead sections; arbitrary seizures of lands by enterprises and organizations as well as by individual citizens have continued. However, the local Councils and their ispolkoms have not been vigorous enough in monitoring the performance of land legislation; they have failed to provide a principled evaluation of instances of squandering and arbitrary seizure of public lands.

The Presidium mandated the Kara-Kalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, the ispolkoms of the oblast-level Councils of People's Deputies, Gosagroprom, the Ministry of the Forestry Industry, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and the State Committee for Water Resources of this republic, as well as the Main Central Asian Administration for Irrigation and Sovkhoz construction to investigate every instance of violation of the land laws and to eliminate shortcomings; they must also raise the standards demanded of officials for unconditionally carrying out the requirements of the land legislation. The Presidium recognized the need to pay particular attention to implementing fully the tasks assigned with regard to the reclamation land improvement and anti-erosion projects, as well as to institute order in land use. The appropriate tasks were assigned to the financial and law-enforcement organs, the TsSU [Central Statistical Administration], and Gosstroy of this republic.

The Presidium discussed the work done by the ispolkom of the Syr-Darya Oblast Council of People's Deputies with regard to restructuring the activity of the soviet organs in light of the requirements set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress. It was noted that the oblispolkom, based on measures which have been worked out, has taken steps to democratize the activity of the Councils, to strengthen their links with the masses, and activate social, do-it-yourself work among the population; it has also carried out a search for new and effective forms to ensure this oblast's comprehensive economic and social development.

It was emphasized, nevertheless, that this oblast's Council of People's Deputies has failed to implement all the possibilities for in-depth qualitative changes in economic and social life which were opened up after the 27th CPSU Congress; it has been too slow in channeling the party's positions into a stream of practical actions.

Many executive and management organs have not repudiated their stereotyped, obsolete methods of operation. There have not been the necessary changes in the practice of planning, preparing, and adopting decisions; these last frequently do not contain any profound analysis of the state of affairs, nor do they indicate ways to eliminate shortcomings. There have been rather frequent instances of infringement of rights of the Councils at lower levels and those of the social, do-it-yourself organs of the population; there has been no improvement in the practice of deputies' inquiries, work with demands by voters, critical remarks, and suggestions by citizens. Distracted by paperwork and the solution of individual, secondary problems, a considerable number of council and economic organs have lost sight of the key problems of the social sphere: accelerating scientific and technical progress, as well as improving production planning, administration and organization.

The Presidium mandated this oblast's Council of People's Deputies to carry out specific measures for improving the style and methods of the council organs' activity, eliminating the shortcomings noted above, ensuring a rapid pace of accelerating the oblast's socioeconomic development. The Presidium of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR Supreme Soviet and the ispolkoms of the oblast-level Councils of People's Deputies were assigned the task of discussing the progress being made in restructuring the activity of the organs under their jurisdiction, of adopting effective measures to implement unconditionally the party's program positions.

The session also discussed other matters of this republic's state life and adopted appropriate decisions regarding them.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

SLOW PACE OF UZBEK SCHOOL REFORM DISCUSSED

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 2 Dec 86 p 3

[UZTAG article: "Vocational Guidance: A Requirement of the Times"]

[Text] The questions of further improving the joint activity of general-education schools, inter-scholastic educational-production combines, and their base enterprises were at the center of attention for the participants in the republic-level seminar-conference which opened on 1 December in Tashkent. Public-education employees and leading officials from the base enterprises took part in it.

The report by Uzbek SSR Minister of Education O.S. Abbasova and the ensuing speeches noted that during the three years which have passed since the adoption of the decree on reforming the general-education school and the vocational school approximately 6,000 industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses in this republic have become base enterprises of educational institutions. However, many ministries and departments are still standing on the sidelines, aloof from the important work of vocational guidance for schoolchildren. Many of this republic's enterprises do not have enough job slots. Despite the fact that more than 70 percent of the pupils are studying in rural localities, the Uzbek SSR Gosagroprom has not yet introduced any substantial changes in the organization of their labor training. The principal work with regard to vocational guidance in both industry and agriculture is conducted only among the seniors; insufficient attention is paid to pupils in Grades 1-8.

A large role in training our future labor replacements, the speakers noted, belongs to vocational-technical education. However, the educators and master workmen at many vocational-technical schools are not prepared to operate under the new conditions; they do not possess the proper methodological plans. Insufficient attention has been paid to this problem by the Uzbek Scientific-Research Institute of Pedagogical Sciences imeni T.N. Kara-Niyazov, which has not yet worked out unified methods and recommendations for the labor and vocational training of pupils in the light of the school reform.

S.U. Sultanova, the deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, spoke at this seminar-conference.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

UZBEK OBKOM FIRST SECRETARY HIGHLIGHTS IMPROVEMENTS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by N. Radzhabov, first secretary, CP of Uzbekistan Namangan Obkom: "On the Right Path; Party Life; Restructuring in Progress"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] For the Namangan Oblast party organization the year 1986 was a year of modernizing the style and methods of its work, of a determined struggle against all sorts of negative phenomena. By ensuring the acceleration of this oblast's socioeconomic development, the communists here have intensified their concern for people, their everyday demands and needs.

Recently I received a letter from a disabled war veteran named A. Ortikov, who wrote as follows: "My thanks to the obkom for beginning to show more concern for people."

We have been receiving quite a few such letters in recent times. And they have convinced us that the oblast party organization is on the right path. These warm, well-wishing responses are particularly pleasant inasmuch as our initial successes, speaking frankly, did not come easily for us. It is no secret, of course, that just a few years ago this oblast was rife with deceit, fraud, false show, bribery and other negative phenomena. What was required was a greater effort on the part of the law-enforcement organs and the renewed party organs in order to eradicate this atmosphere.

We were confronted with the following serious task: to break up the existing stagnation and routine, to reach people's minds and hearts, to uplift them to the struggle for the necessary changes. We understood the following: it was necessary that the process of restructuring affect every collective and that our principal efforts be directed to this end.

What has our experience of the last few years attested to? With practically the same material resources and under difficult weather conditions, we have managed to achieve stable work, and our economic indicators have improved—noticeably. For two years in a row our oblast emerged as a winner in the All-Union competition. And we did quite well in 1986: there have been positive shifts in industry and construction, trade, and everyday services; harvests were good for all crops, including cotton; and purchases of livestock products increased.

When I think about this, I realize how important successes are in the economy. But there is something else which is no less important: we have turned our face toward human beings, to their everyday concerns and problems, and to the solution of the most pressing ones.

Here is just one example of this. Our oblast has 70 percent of its population engaged in agriculture. People spend seven or eight months of the year in the fields. Cotton-growing requires this; it is not easy to grow and harvest a good crop. Every brigade has a field station. But what did these "stations" use to look like? Frankly speaking, many of them looked terrible. We decided that they needed to be rebuilt in a major way. And, do you know, we actually encountered a stubborn unwillingness on the part of several directors to burden themselves with "extra" concerns.

Take, for example, the Namanganskiy Rayon--the most economically developed one, whose farms, as they say, are rolling in money. But when work began in the oblast on improving the field stations, the obkom secretary Kh. Akhmedova went to this rayon and was amazed: here they had not even begun to be concerned about people. It was necessary to bring the first secretary of the raykom to this remote rayon and show him how the everyday life of rural laborers had to be restructured.

This trip was an object lesson for Atakhanov. Soon people began to set to work actively here too, and now the picture has changed substantially. Let's take, for example, the field station of brigade-leader B. Pulatov on the Kolkhoz imeni 22nd CPSU Congress. This is a true brigade house--important and extensive. It has a kitchen and a dining-room, rooms for resting and a "red corner," a seasonal nursery and a hygiene room for women, showers and a sports area. Among the services for the field workers are a television set, bedrooms, a library and a self-service store. The House of Consumer Services on Wheels, cooperative operators, and medical personnel come here regularly.

In short, field stations here are now, as a rule, not simply places where a person can get in out of bad weather but genuine centers of comfort, culture, and rest for the agricultural laborers. Such conditions have already been created on the absolute majority of this oblast's farms. The field stations are the centers of political-educational work almost the whole year round.

And take the following case, for example. The inhabitants of one of the streets on the Pakhtakor Kolkhoz arranged a khashar (subbotnik). They trimmed, plastered, and whitewashed facades and decorated them with ornaments, painted gates, cleaned aryks [irrigation ditches], and sidewalks--and they transformed the street. It was as if it had started to shine and smile. One would not have thought that a mere change in appearance would evoke such a good mood among people. A good saying spread throughout the oblast. "Do as we did!" This challenge was heard in many places. Now not only the rayon centers and the central settlements of the farms are being transformed but even the remote settlements. Street holidays, the honoring of renowned countrymen, and "days of my kishlak" [village] are becoming a tradition.

Let's struggle to bring it about that each rural laborer transforms his own personal home on the model of social life. Although our farmers earn good money, many of them still live in the old-fashioned way. Their homes have no furniture; they dress richly but without taste. And this is in places where the village stores have an adequate selection of clothing, footwear, and fabrics, where custom-made tailoring shops are in operation. The matter often reaches the stages of the following paradox: Volga cars are parked in the garages of the homes, while the apartments do not even have radios, televisions, refrigerators, or washing machines. Practice has shown that no appeal can substitute for a visible demonstration and personal example. And it must be furnished, above all by the leading officials. On the Leningrad Kolkhoz the team-leader A. Sulaymanov, brigade-leader A. Boltabayev, and the hydraulic engineer E. Khodzhiyev were the first to transform their own personal homes to an up-to-date style. And others followed their example. This is going on everywhere here. In general, a great deal depends upon the leading officials to see to it that concern for people's everyday conditions makes the transition from a secondary to a high-priority category. We are steering our economic managers in this direction, and we hold them strictly accountable for any lack of attention.

Many labor collectives are building rooms for stores, dining-halls, and consumer services, by means of their own funds, and they are outfitting them with the necessary equipment. Some 48 enterprises have consumer centers directly on their grounds, while 60 have them operating right next to them. They render as many as 20 basic types of various services. We now have the highest indicators among this republic's oblasts for per capita volume of services. Their volume has reached equal levels in the village and in the city.

I recall a letter from the school director Yu. Sattarov from Ozhizak Oblast which stated the following: "We were extremely gratified to learn from radio and television reports that in your oblast they managed to harvest the cotton without using schoolchildren. And their health, it is said, has improved." Yes, for two years in a row now we have not drawn upon either schoolchildren or older students for the autumn operations. We have immediately felt a "payback" in this matter--the children have become ill less often.

We have intensified our concern for people's health. During the last few years alone 32 hospitals have been put into operation, while 11 polyclinics and 2 sanatoriums have been opened. "The obkom has recommended that enterprise directors transfer to treatment institutions 95 administrative-economic areas in which were placed approximately 1500 beds, as well as pharmacies and polyclinics.

I would like to note the following in particular: nothing which we have accomplished in the social sphere has required any additional funds, or assets, or any sort of aid from the outside. We do everything by means of internal reserves--with our own hands and made with local construction materials.

However, there are still many unsolved problems. Employees in the service sphere are frequently lacking in accuracy and effectiveness, professional standards, and attention to people. The output of consumer goods is being increased, but breakdowns are frequently allowed to occur in supplying them to the public.

The number of trade-regulation violations has not been reduced. For example, in one of the department stores in Chustskiy Rayon 700 kerchiefs were discovered to be concealed from sale to the public. There have also been instances of overcharging and giving false weight to the customers.

The organization of working people's leisure is still being conducted without the necessary consideration being given to the people's interests and demands. In recommending S. Abdullayeva to the post of chief of the oblast-cultural administration and Yu. Filippov as chairman of the committee on physical culture and sports, the obkom considered that they, having work experience in the party organs, would be able to achieve serious shifts in the activities of the cultural and sports institutions. Two years have passed. Up to now, however, we have not sensed any restructuring in the sectors under their leadership.

It is particularly important to ensure a harmonious development for young people. It is especially alarming that far from every youth called up for service in the ranks of the Soviet Army can fulfill the norms set by the GTO [Ready for Labor and Defense] Complex. About 20,000 Komsomol members are not engaged in social production. We must pay greater attention to Russian-language study.

In this year just ending alone, social problems were discussed in more than 800 party organizations, and about 200 leading officials delivered reports. During the past three years dozens of workshop party organizations have been created in the service field. Now the 40 best employees of these sectors have become communists. Recently the obkom conducted a seminar which discussed the tasks of enterprises engaged in trade, public dining, and communal-consumer services.

In many kishlaks, classes on daily and family life have been set up, where classes are taught by schoolteachers, physicians, and other members of the rural intelligentsia. The communists of the Namangan Agricultural Tekhnikum are conducting interesting work. Culture classes have also been set up upon their initiative.

Having thoroughly analyzed the situation in the social field, the party obkom deemed it necessary to hold a special plenary session. In preparing for this, we appealed via the local press and radio to the communists and all working people in this oblast to state their own proposals, critical remarks, and wishes. This accorded us the possibility of looking more profoundly into the results of the work which has been done and to reveal the causes of the existing shortcomings.

We have determined extensive new plans. Let us try to carry them out consistently and persistently.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

MSSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS HITS SLUGGISH ANTICORRUPTION CAMPAIGN

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 19 Dec 86 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Council of Ministers of the Moldavian SSR"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Moldavian SSR has discussed tasks of both state and industrial management authorities in light of the decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU "Unsatisfactory implementation of CPSU Central Committee decisions concerning the eradication of deception and distortion of information on the part of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia, the Kirovograd Oblast committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry" and decisions of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia and ways to improve the effectiveness of the fight against unearned income.

The decision draws attention to the fact that the CPSU Central Committee decree, "Unsatisfactory implementation of CPSU Central Committee decisions concerning the eradication of deception and distortion of information by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia, the Kirovograd Oblast committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry," identifies serious shortcomings in the performance of the council of ministers, Gosplan, individual ministries, state committees, departmental agencies and executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies as well as in administrative organizations responsible for the management of the republic economy. Involved here are a number of major miscalculations and mistakes in the effort to reorganize the management and direction of these organizations, accelerate scientific and technological progress and increase labor productivity and the efficiency of social production. Still missing are signs of the purposefulness and consistency this effort requires and timeliness and efficiency in implementation of party and government directives calling for record-keeping and accounting procedures to be brought into line with established official requirements, effective efforts to deal with deception and distortion of information, cases of mismanagement, waste, theft of socialist property, bribery, speculation and other mercenary crimes and the strictest adherence on the part of all to the standards of social justice characteristic of our social system and to the socialist principle, in accordance with which people are paid for the quantity and the quality of the work they actually do.

The Council of Ministers of the Moldavian SSR agrees entirely with the principled criticism of it expressed in the proceedings of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee

of the Communist Party of Moldavia and to remedy existing shortcomings, sees it as essential to improve in a fundamental, thoroughgoing way the performance of the presidium of the council of ministers of the Moldavian SSR and of all agencies of government and industrial management within the republic and to impose greater personal accountability on individuals responsible for performance in a particular sphere of activity.

There have been widespread cases within the republic in which, to conceal their unsatisfactory performance in mobilizing work collectives for implementation of state plans and fulfillment of socialist obligations, managers of industrial and transport enterprises, construction organizations and kolkhozes and sovkhoses have embarked on the criminal path of misleading the government, distorting and embellishing the true state of affairs and taking actions contrary to the interests of the state, such, for example, as padding and otherwise distorting official records.

Responsible authorities within the various ministries, state committees and agencies of the republic have not only made no attempt to deal effectively with these situation they have in no small number of instances failed to respond as they should have to reports from workers and employees that various officials were abusing the authority of their positions, distorting information, providing misleading data, misappropriating socialist property and committing bribery and other mercenary crimes. This complaisance and permissiveness has created a situation in which individuals in a number of responsible positions have disregarded the interests of the state, been guilty of gross violations of Soviet laws and received both material and nonmaterial benefits which they have not earned.

All this has created a state of affairs within the republic in which official deception and distortion of information and other means of misleading the government have gradually taken on massive proportions, permeating not only the economy, but the social sphere as well. And this has been to the considerable economic and moral detriment of society overall.

Reports concerning fulfillment of plans for bringing new facilities on line have erroneously and improperly included projects still under construction, other projects on which much work remains to be completed and still others where the work is of unacceptable quality. Looking at buildings and structures brought into operation during June 1986 alone, the total figure for work still to be completed and work which was of unacceptable quality reached more than 330,000 rubles. Within the automotive and rail transport industries, for example, we have seen instances of mass-scale padding of figures on volumes of cargo transported. Many examples of padded statistics and other attempts to mislead the government can be found in the records of kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises and organizations. There are widespread instances of such negative phenomena as concealing part of the sown area and a fraction of the total livestock herd with the objective of overstating actual agricultural crop yields and livestock productivity, writing off milk fed to calves and including meat bought on the local economy in violation of requirements imposed by existing procedures in reports on fulfillment of the plan for sales of meat to the government.

Industrial and construction enterprises and kolkhozes and sovkhoses and other production organizations are still not supplying the raw data from their records and accounts in satisfactory form and have not yet completed the changeover to standardized accounting forms and the standard method of recording production expenditures and computing

production costs. Instances of particularly serious neglect in record-keeping and accounting have been observed within Gosagroprom, the Moldavian SSR ministries of construction, local industry, automotive transport and consumer services, the Moldavian SSR Union of Consumer Societies and a number of other ministries, state committees and agencies within the republic.

Despite the cases of serious shortcomings in the preparation and reporting of first-echelon bookkeeping and accounting data and the numerous instances of padded statistics and other distortions in official reports and accounts which have been identified, these questions are only rarely discussed at meetings of the collegiums of the various ministries and within the state committees and administrative agencies of the republic, instances of unsatisfactory reporting and accounting which have been brought to light are not analyzed and evaluated in the proper light, subordinate enterprises are not being given the assistance they require in bringing their reporting and accounting procedures into line and appropriate action is not being taken against individuals guilty of violating the law.

In the fight against padding and overstatement, deception, breaches of official reporting and accounting discipline and other negative phenomena, the agencies of departmental control have been playing only a minor and ineffective role. The various ministries, state committees and administrative agencies of the republic have failed to take the steps necessary to bring into the inspection and auditing services the highly qualified experts capable in a consistent, principled way of insuring strict maintenance of official discipline on the part of enterprises within their jurisdiction.

During 1985 the inspection and auditing services of the Moldavian SSR ministries of land reclamation and water resources, construction and local industry inspected and audited more than 200 organizations under their jurisdiction. In not one of these organizations, however, did they uncover any cases of padded statistics, deceptive, manipulated reports or any other breaches of official reporting and accounting discipline. At the same time, however, the people's control authorities, the Moldavian SSR Central Statistical Administration and the financial and other inspection and auditing agencies were turning up examples of these offenses in virtually every one of the enterprises of these ministries they investigated. Departmental control remains ineffective, neither helping to tighten up state administrative and financial discipline, prevent deception and manipulation of data in official accounts and reports, mismanagement and theft of socialist property nor making its proper contribution to the effort to improve management.

The executive committees of the rayon and city soviets of people's deputies, too, are still playing an inadequate role in efforts to insure strict adherence to the principles of socialist legality and put an end to the practice of padding and otherwise manipulating and overstating data in statistical reports and other means employed to mislead the government. They underestimate the negative economic and moral impact on a workforce of violations of laws and regulations, bad management practices, waste, the gamut of white-collar crime we are seeing, the infatuation with possibilities for unearned income.

Nor have the executive committees of rayon and city soviets of people's deputies been effectively maintaining state and executive discipline, insuring adherence to legal norms on the part of industrial managers and verifying the accuracy and authenticity of data on fulfillment of state plans and socialist obligations.

There are a great many chairmen of executive committees of rayon and city soviets of people's deputies within the republic who are not only not setting any example of principled, uncompromising effort in the fight against deceptive practices, but who are themselves not infrequently embarking on the path of padding and manipulating statistics when they accept housing, consumer services facilities and buildings for social and cultural events for occupancy and operation in which construction is not yet complete or the work which has been done is of unacceptable quality.

The law enforcement agencies of the republic are also guilty of serious shortcomings and, occasionally, delays, red tape and generally unprincipled behavior in the fight against deception and manipulation of information. The Moldavian SSR ministry of the interior has yet to achieve any really noticeable results in the prevention programs its agencies have undertaken locally with the objective of preventing criminal offenses against socialist property and eradicating economic crime and crime in public office. The Moldavian SSR Ministry of Justice is not giving proper attention to the need for timely consideration of cases in the people's courts of manipulation and overstatement of statistical information, deception, theft of socialist property, bribery, speculation and mercenary crimes and failing to follow up and insure the implementation of effective remedies for shortcomings in enterprises and organizations brought to light during the course of a court trial.

The people's control agencies of the Moldavian SSR are still failing effectively to insure strict adherence to existing laws and regulations on the part of individuals in official positions. In the course of their investigations, many rayon and city people's control committees are not getting to the root of the problems involved in cases of deception and manipulated statistics, failing to subject these cases to the most principled scrutiny and, finally, failing to exercise to the fullest extent the authority granted them by the law on people's control in the USSR in dealing with these negative phenomena.

The Council of Ministers of the Moldavian SSR has adopted for consistent guidance and implementation the CPSU Central Committee decree "Unsatisfactory implementation of CPSU Central Committee decisions concerning eradication of deception and distortion of information on the part of the central committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia, the Kirovograd Oblast committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry" and decisions of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia and has established these sources as basic operational guidelines for government and economic management authorities within the Moldavian SSR.

Organizational measures outlined in implementation of decisions of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia of October 22, 1986 have been approved.

The republic council of ministers has directed ministries, state committees and individual agencies to work for fundamental improvement in the management of subordinate enterprises, associations and organizations and to deal resolutely and effectively with cases of deceptive record-keeping and accounting, padded statistics and breaches of official state, planning and executive discipline, specifically:

to subject the root causes of padding, manipulation and distortion of official accounting data in reports on fulfillment of plans and socialist obligations to the most

rigorous and searching analysis. To remove from their positions and institute legal proceedings against individuals guilty of or accessory to breaches of accounting and reporting discipline and attempts to mislead the government or who have failed to take appropriate steps to prevent such offenses and insure the safeguarding of socialist property;

to take steps necessary to bring about fundamental improvements in interdepartmental control and to give this function a greater role in tackling the problems of improving the quality of bookkeeping and accounting procedures, insuring efficient, economical utilization of material, fuel, energy and manpower resources in industry, providing effective safeguards for protecting socialist property and eradicating deception and manipulation in bookkeeping and reporting. With these objectives in view to improve procedures involved in selecting personnel for the inspecting and auditing role and to man the inspection and auditing services and accounting and bookkeeping system entirely with first-rate experts who can demonstrate both resolution and adherence to principle in defending the interests of the state and society;

to develop and approve guidelines and directives to govern the organization and conduct of inspections and audits of subordinate enterprises focusing on the accuracy and validity of reports and accounts and the protection provided for socialist property;

to insure timely discussion of the results of these audits. To not fail to take prompt and effective action in each and every case of deception and manipulation of information, waste and mismanagement, theft or negligence on the part of individuals materially responsible for the safeguarding of socialist property. To take thorough, effective measures in each specific instance to punish the guilty, bring the situation back into line with the requirements of the law and regulations and compensate the damage done by the guilty parties.

The Moldavian SSR Gosplan, Moldavian SSR Gosagroprom, ministries, state committees and departmental authorities throughout the republic have been directed to improve the quality of the work going into the preparation of plans for social and economic development, intensify efforts to improve the quality, scientific validity and balance in production plans and the material and technical support provided for these plans, to bring work collectives into more active participation in the preparation and discussion of plans and to hold enterprises and work collectives more directly responsible for the results of their efforts. To complete during 1987 the changeover of all associations, enterprises and organizations to the standardized method of planning and computing production costs.

It has been proposed that the Moldavian SSR Gosplan, the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Finance, the Moldavian SSR State Committee on Labor, the Moldavian SSR Gosstat, the Moldavian SSR Central Statistical Administration and the Moldavian SSR State Committee on Prices undertake to monitor in a systematic way the timeliness and quality of preparations within the various ministries, state committees and administrative agencies of the republic for the changeover to the new system of management and rigorously analyze the performance of the various sectors of the economy under the new conditions.

The executive committees of rayon and city soviets of people's deputies within the Moldavian SSR have been directed to look for guidance to the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of

the Moldavian SSR and the Council of Ministers of the Moldavian SSR of September 13, 1986, "Measures to Increase the Role and Responsibility of the Soviets of People's Deputies in the Moldavian SSR for Intensifying Social and Economic Development in the Light of Decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU," and make fuller use of the authority granted them to solve the basic problems involved in the development of the territories and strengthen state, labor and production discipline. Draw work collectives and social organizations more extensively into this effort and help create conditions under which there will be an obligation to bring individuals guilty of manipulating statistics, deception in record-keeping and accounting, waste and mismanagement, theft of socialist property, bribery, speculation, extortion and other mercenary crimes to strict personal accountability.

The Moldavian SSR Central Statistical Administration has been directed to work for radical improvement in the functioning of the statistical organizations and make them more directly responsible for the accuracy and validity of data contained in official statistical reports. To undertake systematic efforts to insure rigorous adherence on the part of economic agencies and organizations to established procedures for recording and reporting statistical data and, in the case of any irregularities, take steps to restore the statistical integrity of the report, delete unlawful reporting from the record and bring guilty parties to accountability.

The Moldavian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Justice and other law enforcement agencies should take steps to insure strict adherence to proper procedures and rigorous observance of the requirements of the law in all fields of economic activity and to increase the effectiveness of preventive measures aimed at insuring safeguards for socialist property, eradicating manipulation and deception in statistical reporting and eliminating sources of unearned income. Improve the quality of investigative work and provide better organizational guidance for the people's courts with the objective of eliminating liberality and delays in the consideration of cases of deceptive reporting, misappropriation, bribery, speculation, extortion and other mercenary crimes.

It is recommended that the Moldavian SSR Committee on People's Control take steps to improve the functioning of the system of people's control throughout the entire republic in the fight against violations of law and abuses of official position and move more effectively and resolutely against any attempts to deceive or mislead the government.

8963

CSO: 1800/270

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

MSSR CC BURO ADDRESSES NEGATIVE PHENOMENA

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 14 Jan 87 p 1

[Article: "In the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party"]

[Text] The regular session of the Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro examined the question related to the realization of the CPSU Central Committee's decree "On the Further Strengthening of Socialist Law and Order, and the Intensified Protection of Citizens' Rights and Legal Interests."

In view of the fact that the work of the party, Soviet, management, law enforcement, and other state organs as well as public organizations of the republic has not yet been sufficiently effective with respect to those questions, and because their efforts do not fully satisfy the requirements emanating from the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and those of the ensuing decrees of the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee Buro has defined what the tasks related to these problems should be for party gorkoms and raykoms, the Council of Ministers, the Moldavian Trade Unions, the Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee, the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies, the State Agroindustrial Committee, ministries, and departments. The decree emphasized that all work undertaken to strengthen socialist law and order must be conducted with broad openness and with the active participation of labor collectives. That work must inculcate in people a profound respect for the law and demonstrate convincingly, through vital exemplary actions, that strict observance of the law's requirements is in the interest of society as a whole as well as each Soviet person, and constitutes a decisive factor in guaranteeing law and order and the resolute rights of the citizens.

After having discussed the progress that is being made in fulfilling the decree of the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers with respect to the strengthening and further development of the material-technical base of the Academy of Sciences, the Central Committee Buro emphasized that during the six years that have elapsed since the adoption of the indicated document, a considerable amount of work has been undertaken to increase the scientific potential and improve the experimental-production base. At the same time, the development of the base is being held back by the unsatisfactory manner in which the program of capital construction has been carried out. The Grazhdanstroy Trust

failed to meet construction goals for the 11th Five-Year Plan by almost two million rubles. Last year's plan was only half completed. This too was due to the weak efforts exerted by the collective of the republic's Ministry of Construction and Gosstroy.

The Central Committee Buro has instructed the republic's Council of Ministers and Gosplan to take supplementary measures to strengthen the material-technical base of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences in order to provide the conditions that are essential to the further development of fundamental and applied research and to the efficient and wide-scale introduction of scientific-technical achievements in the sectors of the national economy. Specific tasks were assigned to the leadership of the Ministry of Construction, the Grazhdanstroy Trust, and the primary party organizations.

The Buro also reviewed the accident that took place in the heating systems of the city of Kishinev.

On January 11 of this year an accident occurred at 20:30 hours at the fifth pumping plant of Kishinev's heating system administration. As a result of the accident, the city's heating network was cut off from 20 central heating stations, the heating systems of more than 140 multistory residential buildings, seven kindergartens, nine general education schools, a polyclinic, and a number of municipal service facilities. Over 30,000 inhabitants of the Botanika rayon were without heat. The elevator circuit equipment in the indicated buildings was put out of commission as were the heat duct systems and radiators in 124 apartments and the transfer lines in 20 buildings. A considerable area of living quarters was flooded with hot water.

An investigation into the reasons for the accident established that the automatic shut-off systems of the network pumps were not actuated when the pressure was increased, and when the accident occurred there was no duty mechanic at the station who should have been there in case of an automatic equipment breakdown to take whatever steps were necessary to prevent such accidents. It was also discovered that the station mechanics failed to adhere to the duty work schedule and changeover times of duty personnel, and that personnel extended their duty hours from 12 to 24 hours without authorization. The monitor services of the heating network administration and the Moldavian Main Administration for Power and Electrification are not exercising the necessary controls over the operations of the pumping stations. No records were kept by the mechanics on the sign-in and sign-out duty rosters or about information provided by the duty monitor on heat transfer parameters around the network and on the pumps.

The directorate of the Moldavian Main Administration for Power and Electrification ((B. P. Karpov) did not carry out the demand made by the CPSU Central Committee and the Moldavian CP Central Committee to undertake measures to assure the continuous operation of housing and social sphere facilities and to raise the degree of precision and level of discipline in

the work of heating services personnel, particularly in view of this year's winter conditions. Furthermore, the directorate has ignored flagrant violations of engineering and labor discipline and duty instructions by duty personnel at the pumping stations which have been tolerated by supervisors of the heating network administration who are responsible for this area of operations.

The Buro of the Moldavian CP Central Committee has vigorously reprimanded CPSU member B. P. Karpov for criminal dereliction of assigned duties which resulted in a major accident at the heating stations in the microrayon of Botanika in the city of Kishinev. Furthermore, the Buro ordered that the reprimand is to be recorded in his registration card and he has been relieved of his position as Chief of the Moldavian Main Administration for Power and Electrification [hereafter Moldglavenergo].

The Central Committee Buro has demanded that the ispolkom of the Kishinev city Soviet of People's Deputies (M. S. Platon, V. M. Tkachenko), the MoSSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services (P. V. Prasol), and Moldglavenergo (V. Yu. Ikonnikov) take exhaustive measures to eliminate the consequences of the accident at housing and municipal facilities in the shortest possible time. Furthermore, the Buro has directed that the efforts of repair and installation organizations at the expense of the city, other rayons of the republic and the Moldsantekhmontazh Trust should be recruited for this operation which is to be arranged on an around-the-clock basis, and that provisions must be made for worker meals and rest, and that each damaged apartment must be accounted for, and that not a single resident's call for help should be ignored.

The Kishinev party gorkom (N. A. Tsyu) has been instructed to take control of the accident clean-up operations and the restoration of heat to residential and municipal services buildings in the Sovetskiy rayon. The gorkom has also been instructed to organize repairs to damaged residential and municipal services buildings and to cut through any kind of encountered red tape or unwillingness to resolve these problems. It has also been ordered to investigate the unsatisfactory work of the operational personnel of the city's heating network administration, and to issue party reprimand to personnel who do not draw the essential conclusions from the demands for restructuring.

The primary party organization of the Moldglavenergo apparatus (V. M. Shapovalov) has been instructed to examine the accountability of communists who are either directly or indirectly responsible for the accident at the heating networks of the city of Kishinev. The MoSSR Procurator has been asked to institute criminal proceedings with respect to the accident.

The Buro reviewed the serious shortcomings in the operations of the board of the MoSSR Znaniye Society and those of its primary party organization with respect to the rearrangement of its operations in the light of the party's demands.

It was emphasized at the Buro session that irresponsibility runs rampant at the board with its 35 staff officials, and that the board lacks even the basic elements of organization. They sit on the fence in Kishinev, rarely go out to the rayons and offer no effective methodological or practical assistance to the aktiv, nor do they study or comprehend local conditions.

Sessions of the presidium are conducted in a disorganized fashion without any profound analysis. Its decisions are merely made for effect. Only 260 out of the 1,796 certified lecturers of the republic-level link regularly deliver lectures. The rest are idle. Many lecturers use the same subject material for years.

Cases of swindling have also been reported. In 1986, 54.6 percent of the non-paid lectures were postscripted to the records. Some non-staff lecturers (doctor of agricultural sciences G. K. Vaskanu, candidates of philosophical sciences L. V. Zolotorubova, A. G. Apostu, A. M. Nikitin, candidate of technical sciences N. P. Sakharova, and others) according to reports manage to conduct classes at Kishinev VUZs and deliver lectures in the rayons at the same time. Then they ask to be reimbursed for lectures that had ostensibly been delivered simultaneously at different organizations. During 1985 and the first quarter of 1986 in the city of Kishinev, 10,254 rubles received from enterprises and organizations ostensibly for public lectures were processed as honoraria, and staff workers of the Society were illegally paid prizes totaling 5,127 rubles.

A. A. Zavtur and K. I. Koltsa were relieved from their positions in the presidium of the Society's board for their irresponsible execution of the party's demands for a restructuring of work style and methods, for their failure to take effective measures to eradicate illegal entries and fraud in the matter of lecture propaganda, and for their violation of financial discipline and the unprincipled manner in which they worked with personnel. The primary party organization, the board of the Znaniye Society, the republic soviet of people's universities, and the MoSSR Procurator have been advised to examine the accountability of other workers and to undertake measures to eliminate the uncovered shortcomings.

Certain other questions were also discussed at the session of the Central Committee Buro.

6289

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MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

KIEV DISMISSALS SHOW ATTENTIVENESS TO PRESS

LD201007 Moscow TASS in English 0914 GMT 20 Feb 87

[Text] Kiev 20 February TASS--By Tass correspondent Aleksy Petrunya:

The director of the press-building works in the village of Poberezhye in the Ivano-Frankovsk region of the Ukraine and the leader of factory's party organization have been dismissed from their posts after an article in the Ukrainian-based newspaper RABOCHAYA GAZETA (WORKERS' GAZETTE).

It reported facts to show that the director, Oleg Polovchad, and the secretary of the party organization, Bogdan Baytsar, had harassed those criticizing them. The regional party committee followed up the expose by strictly punishing the two officials.

"This is just one of the numerous proofs of the effectiveness of the press and its increased role in the country's life today," commented Nikolay Shibik, chairman of the Union of Journalists of the Ukraine.

Speaking in a TASS interview, he said the authorities in the Ukraine had become more attentive to what the press had to say and begun to act on its criticisms and suggestions for improvements more quickly.

When the Ukrainian-language daily RADYANSKA UKRAINA (SOVIET UKRAINE), for instance, reported a few days ago the destruction of rare trees in a nature reserve, it was as early as the following morning that the press carried an official announcement that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine had set up a special commission to investigate the facts summarized in the newspaper.

The conclusions of the commission, which is led by first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine and also includes a representative of the Procurator's Office of the Ukraine, will also be made public.

"Over the past 18 months the communist party of the Ukraine's Central Committee has come out on three occasions to back RABOCHAYA GAZETA in its laying of blunt emphasis on thorny issues," Shibik said.

"It has also adopted special resolutions on critical articles in other Ukrainian newspapers.

"Regional party committees have also taken more than 100 decisions in support of articles in the press and on other issues related to its work.

"When some party committees respond to criticisms the wrong way, by attempting to victimize journalists, such malpractices are treated strictly by the Central Committee," Shibik said.

/12232

CSO: 1800/416

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

IZVESTIYA ON LIVE SOVIET TV ON U.S. CABLE NETWORK

PM021451 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 February 1987 Morning Edition carries on page 7, under the headline "America Watches Moscow" and the "TV and Us" rubric, an 800-word S. Dvigantsev report on U.S. cable TV carrying Soviet programs live. The report quotes remarks by Valentin Lazutkin, chief of the USSR State Commission for Television and Radio Broadcasting Main Administration for Foreign Relations. Lazutkin sketches in the background to the first direct daily transmission of central television programs to America, which began 15 February by arrangement with the Discovery Channel Cable TV Company and the Orbita Technology Corporation. He points out that the programs go out live without commentary, except for Vremya, which is recorded and transmitted at 2000 hours, U.S. time, complete with subtitles. An "interesting detail," he observes is that it goes out an hour before the "provocative TV film 'Amerika.'" Regarding the future, Luzatkin says that Manhattan Cable will begin broadcasting Soviet programs in April. He comments that "the truth about our country irritates many people in America. The attempt by the Federal Communications Commission to thwart the transmission of the announced broadcasts bears this out. Three hours before the opening program the commission forbade the Orbita Corporation to receive television signals from the Soviet Molniya communications satellite, as had been planned. However, a new channel was found, and the broadcast took place at exactly the scheduled time."

/12232

CSO: 1800/416

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSES MARXISM-LENINISM UNIVERSITY CADRE TRAINING

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 16 Dec 86) pp 61-72

[Discussion, moderated by V.A. Pechenyev, under the heading "'Round Table' in Tbilisi": "The University of Marxism-Leninism Under the Conditions of Restructuring"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in text; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Excerpts] The University of Marxism-Leninism of the Georgian Communist Party [CPGe] Central Committee and the board of editors of the CPSU Central Committee's magazine POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE recently held a "round table" session for the purpose of preparing proposals for further restructuring the political and economic educational system. Taking part in the discussion were professors and instructors of the republic's University of Marxism-Leninism [UML], UML students and alumni, party workers and journalists, as well as the Chairman of the Council of Directors of Universities of Marxism-Leninism, Rector of the Moscow UML, M.F. Tolpygo. Questions of improving the work of universities of Marxism-Leninism in the light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress were discussed. Leading the discussion was POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE Deputy Chief Editor V.A. Pechenyev.

By Way of Introduction

"Prior to our present meeting," said V.A. Pechenyev, opening the "round table" discussion, "we had the opportunity to become acquainted with the work of not only our own UML, but also the work of certain others. The overall impression is, that in recent years quite a bit has been done to improve the activities of the universities as academic institutions in the party's educational system. At the same time, in the light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress on restructuring work with the cadres, and its strategic line for accelerating socio-economic development, universities of Marxism-Leninism are faced with doing a great deal more for the qualitative renovation of our socialist society. As you know, extensive discussions on how to speed up our overall progress, utilizing for this purpose the immense potential of the entire system of Marxist-Leninist education, have been held in the pages of the magazine POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE."

[Voices] One cannot agree with all the statements.

[Moderator] Well, of course not; naturally: a discussion is a discussion. It's all the more useful for the magazine to learn your attitudes toward the ideas and proposals expressed in its publications. But we do not see this as the sole purpose for our meeting. The "round table" participants were not chosen at random. In recent years, especially after the CPGe Central Committee had adopted the resolution on measures for improving the work of the republic's university of Marxism-Leninism (January 1984), you were able to achieve a certain degree of success in overcoming formalism and dogmatism in your training, in increasing its relevance to life, and in introducing active forms for conducting studies and so on. The readers of the magazine are interested in your experiences: what has been done; how have you reorganized things; and how are you striving to achieve the goal, wherein the wise and truthful words of party propagandists are transformed into the real nationwide business of perfecting socialism?

[Sh.L. Papidze (Rector of the CPGe Central Committee UML)] For all practical purposes, the restructuring of the work of our university began two years ago, after the resolution adopted by the CPGe Central Committee, which was just mentioned here. This document defined measures for increasing the role and significance of the UML as an academic institution in the system of party education, which is called upon to provide higher political education to party, Soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic cadres; and to train propagandist cadres and the ideological aktiv.

Today, out of 5,200 students studying in the 12 departments of the three chairs of the main university in Tbilisi and in its eight branches, the overwhelming majority (over 80 percent) are Communists, whereas in previous years no more than half had been party members.

It is noteworthy that the number of those desiring to enroll in the university is significantly greater than the control figures for regular admittance provided to us by the CPGe Central Committee. We have competition. And one must say that this is a positive development. The people are more serious and take a more responsible attitude toward their studies. Now we know of no absences from classes without valid reason. And the comrades are coming to the seminars better prepared; it's not proper to simply occupy a seat at the university.

[V.S. Surov (member of the board of editors, POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE)] But does that not leave out the comrades who truly need to increase their knowledge at the university of Marxism-Leninism?

[Papidze] We try not to let that happen. If we don't accept a comrade, he remains a candidate for the next admission. Incidentally, we also have students who voluntarily audit classes. They attend the lectures and seminars, and we enroll them as students at the earliest opportunity.

Among our current students more than 600 are party and Komsomol workers; about 300 are workers on the staffs of the republic Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, and the ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies; and more than 600 are economic administrators. In the current 1986/87 academic year, 40 professors and more than 50 docents are working at the university. Three years ago there were only half as many instructors with academic degrees.

The university's material-technical base has been significantly strengthened. The university proper is situated in a separate well-appointed building with nine 550-seat auditoria. The motion picture and conference hall and the study halls are well-furnished. They have slide projectors, portable and studio tape recorders, record players, and even a display monitor for playing practical video games.

[Tolpygo] Many of our organizations possess technical facilities. If our efforts were united, and access given to all ideological cadres, propaganda and agitation training would be much more completely furnished with technical training aids. But you see, at times we are like--if you'll forgive the vulgarity--a dog in the manger: it won't eat the hay itself; but it won't let the horses eat it either.

[Surov] Incidentally, there is experience in joint use of technical means belonging to various departments in Belorussia, specifically in the Maloritskiy Rayon of Brest Oblast. Our magazine has published a description of this.

[Papidze] When one is able to overcome the departmental barriers, success follows. For example, we made contact with the "Saktsigni" Association in the republic, and now a book stall has been opened in the university building. It is very convenient to everyone. Or another fact: You've no doubt noticed the numerous pictures hanging in the university corridors? This is a rotating exhibit of the Georgian Artists' Union. Young artists have been given the opportunity to display their works at our place, and students can become familiar with the creativity of the young artists during breaks between classes. Once again there are mutual advantages.

The Most Troublesome Question

[Moderator] In the following discussions let us proceed to the questions which were raised for examination. First of all I'd like to focus on the functions and the purpose of studies at the University of Marxism-Leninism. As you are aware, there are on this count two points of view: some comrades believe that the main purpose of the university is to give the students a higher education: to be more precise, as we say and write it--"a higher political education in the system of party training." Others assert that the university was founded primarily to train propagandists.

[Voice] But does the one really contradict the other?

[Moderator] How about it? That's a reasonable question.

[D.A. Kiknadze (director of studies, Political Education Center, CPGe Central Committee)] The purpose of the university is to train propagandist cadres, and it is namely on this task that it should concentrate its efforts.

[V.M. Yankovskaya (Oktyabrskiy Raykom secretary, CPGe, Tbilisi)] Training propagandist cadres is indisputably an important task for the University of Marxism-Leninism, but it is not the only task--for who will train the cadres of agitators, political information specialists, and ideological workers in general for us?

[Sh.Ye. Gagoshidze (UML instructor)] I think that the basic function of the university is to provide the students--and they are our ideological aktiv-- a substantial amount of theoretical knowledge and certain methodological skills for conducting political work among the masses; that is, to provide them an education which we call higher political education in the party training system. Actually, I don't see any contradiction whatever in the current points of view on the purpose of the university.

[Kiknadze] We place a great deal of meaning in the concept of "training propagandists." Today a propagandist must be a highly erudite person; one who has a broad world-view, and well-founded theoretical and scientific-pedagogical preparation. But to have only basic theoretical knowledge at the level of contemporary scientific achievements is not sufficient for the propagandist; he also requires the ability to transmit this knowledge to others.

[Voice] But that is a god-given talent.

[Kiknadze] That's not necessarily true. Of course, it would be desirable for UML students to have ability, and a certain affinity for working with people: we strive to send such comrades to the UML for training. One cannot educate a propagandist from scratch; here one must have people who show promise.

[Moderator] All right, but what does higher political education in the framework of the party educational system include? Our magazine quite often receives letters such as the following: "Dear Editors! I am a graduate of the university of Marxism-Leninism. When filling out a form, may I now indicate 'higher' in the blank for 'education'?" How would you respond to such a comrade?

[Voice] I'd say, "You may, if prior to that you had graduated from a higher educational institution." (Everyone talking at once.)

[Tolpygo] Of course one cannot equate the UML to a VUZ. At the VUZ we study the essential parts of Marxism-Leninism over a period of 4-5 years, and we take tests, exams, and the state examination. But at the UML, where classes are held once a week, the comrades have the opportunity to deepen and expand their knowledge in the area of revolutionary theory. Therefore, as a rule, the comrades who study at the UML already have higher education. In my opinion, when one author writing in POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE called the UML a form of "postgraduate" education, he was quite correct.

[A.I. Yakashvili (vice-rector, UML)] There are literally only a few individual students at the UML who do not have higher education.

[Gagoshidze] Among my students, 99 percent have higher education. What sense would it make for them to study under a VUZ program? Our task is to provide people knowledge of a higher order. In general I think that students at the UML should be provided knowledge at the postgraduate level, as a minimum.

[V.I. Karumidze (director of studies, UML Party Construction Department)] I have my doubts about postgraduate level as a minimum.

[Gagoshidze] It's not necessary. The knowledge of our students is sufficiently high. Last year two of our graduates did such good graduate work that we invited them to enter graduate school at Tbilisi State University. I would say that today the UML is the highest form of political education, and here we must think of its status.

[Tolpygo] The statute on universities was adopted in 1976. Today it has become quite obsolete and, in essence, is holding back reconstruction. A new statute must be drawn up, which clearly indicates the purposeful significance of the universities. In our opinion, the university of Marxism-Leninism is an educational institution within the framework of the political educational system, and its purpose is the training and retraining of propagandist cadres--as well as the training of party, soviet, and komсомol workers, and economic administrators and their reserves. Here the students must acquire knowledge at the level of the highest party schools.

[D.A. Koridze (director of instruction, Political Economics Department, UML)] And what sort of new structure do you envision for the university?

[Tolpygo] Instead of two departments--Ideological Cadres and Party-Economic Aktiv--three should be created: Propagandist Cadres; Mass-Political Work; and Party-Economic Aktiv.

At the Propagandist Department we would train leaders for political classes for the system of party and komсомol training, and for economic education.

[Yankovskaya] And what about the party activists who do not have higher education? We must train them as well. In the past such comrades were sent to a three-year course in the general department. But this year, in accordance with some kind of directive from higher up, no admissions to the general department were held. In my opinion this was a poor decision.

[Surov] Our authors--for example, B. Ismagulova, a delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress and first secretary of the Leninskiy Raykom, Kazakh CP--propose expanding the functions of the universities. What do you think, Mikhail Fyodorovich [Tolpygo], could they assume responsibility for retraining cadres who had completed the UML, say--5-6 years ago? What if a one-year department, operating on a special program, were opened for them? And one more thing--it has been proposed to make the UML responsible for ongoing work with cadres as well: presenting lectures on general political topics, holding seminars on urgent questions of CPSU policy, organizing scientific-practical conferences, and the like.

[Tolpygo] You must think a little and consider your capabilities. For now we want to create two departments in the Propagandist Department: a department for retraining propagandist cadres, with a one-year term of instruction which temporarily relieves the students of their propagandist duties; and a department for training consultants and specialists on principles and methods of teaching, for political education offices, with a two-year period of training.

[Kiknadze] We would support such a structure.

[Papidze] As far as ongoing work with cadres is concerned, our university is doing a great deal of this right now. Just take scientific-practical conferences: last year alone, after the 27th CPSU Congress, more than 15 such conferences were held in the cities and rayons of the republic, with the participation of the professorial and instructor staff.

[Moderator] I would like, comrades, to return to the examination of questions pertaining to the content of the studies at the university, and to the academic programs above all.

[Yakashvili] For us this is a very sore subject. The fact of the matter is, that the universities, and ours in particular, do not have academic programs.

[Surov] But how can that be? Studies without programs?

[Yakashvili] I'll explain. The University of Marxism-Leninism does not have /its own/ programs. This year, instead of programs, we received from Moscow academic schedules, estimated at 310 hours (two years). On what sort of calculations these figures were based, we don't understand. The academic year at UML, as is well-known, lasts nine months--from September through June. May is given up to tests and examinations. Consequently, for a year, we require 128-132 hours, and for two years 256-264 hours. In order to conduct classes according to such a schedule, the university would have to operate the year around!

[Surov] Well, and how are you going to get out of the situation?

[Yakashvili] Comrade Tolpygo came to our rescue. (Everyone talking at once.) He always comes to our rescue: he sent his own programs, and we are using them.

[Karumidze] In speaking of restructuring the system of party training, and specifically, improving the academic process at the UML, we should of course first resolve the question of the programs. And they should not be published just anywhere, but within the walls of the UML itself. I have the following suggestion: Let certain universities in the country--say, the Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev universities--develop at least one such program in their departments. The council of directors of universities of Marxism-Leninism could then examine it, and allow it to be put to use.

[Papidze] We might also make our contribution: for example, participating in the examination of draft programs. And we could also present our own draft, in philosophy, for example.

[M.G. Mushkin (instructor in the Philosophy Department, UML)] I would gladly take on such an assignment. Incidentally, it was mentioned here that we are conducting classes in accordance with programs from the Moscow UML. That's not entirely so. Based on their programs we have developed our own, which are tailored to the student population. And this is probably the right thing to do. Program preparation is a collective venture.

[Tolpygo] Collective--that's it exactly. It doesn't work if each university operates according to its own program. One cannot treat academic programs lightly. In certain universities, under the pretext of a creative approach, they reshape programs as they like; they groundlessly increase the number of hours for certain courses or drop important subjects from the programs. One even encounters the expression, "pass through a topic," that is, omit it. And why do they omit it? You start to inquire and they explain, "It's a complex subject." But is that really grounds to simply go and strike it from the program? And I'll say one more thing: if we want to train a well-educated ideological worker or propagandist, who is capable of carrying on convincing, well-argued political work in the labor collectives and with the masses, we are obligated first of all to equip him with profound understanding of revolutionary theory, with the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and with the documents of the CPSU. And the scope of this knowledge must be defined by academic programs. I wholeheartedly support the proposal of Comrade Karumidze on preparation of academic programs through the efforts of the departments of the country's leading universities of Marxism-Leninism. However, a coordinating organ is needed here. A social organ or a council of directors is hardly capable of this. After all, someone must organize the examination of these programs, make comments, and put the finishing touches on the project.

[Moderator] Having completed discussion of the question on academic programs for universities of Marxism-Leninism, it is appropriate to recall the thoughts expressed by M.S. Gorbachev at the All-Union Conference of Directors of Studies of Social Sciences Departments held last October, with respect to VUZ programs. He indicated the necessity of restructuring the programs, and referred to dialectics and their method of revealing the essence of this or that subject or phenomenon, and the development of thinking and understanding through contradictions. I believe that in these words one finds the key to compiling programs for universities of Marxism-Leninism as well.

Appointing Lecturers

[Moderator] To a large extent the success of the academic process unquestionably depends on how sophisticated its programs are. But the most important thing, as V.I. Lenin stressed in his letter to the school on Capri, is the ideological-political direction of the lectures, which is determined wholly and entirely by the lecturer staff (See Complete Collection of Works, Vol 47, p 194).

In recent years we have managed to recruit highly-skilled cadres from VUZ professorial-instructor staffs to work in the country's universities of Marxism-Leninism. And you also, as the rector told us today, representing the university, have significantly built up your professorial-instructor staff.

[Papidze] Yes, today we're generally quite pleased with our instructors. They are, as a rule, social science scholars from the leading VUZ's of the republic. Growth in a university's prestige is to a significant extent determined precisely by who is conducting the classes, by the ability of the instructors to shape in their students the ability to think independently

and creatively. Unfortunately, however, one cannot say that about all the instructors. We have carefully studied the materials of the All Union Conference of Directors of Studies of Social Science Departments, and we must admit that the shortcomings in the work of the social studies instructors referred to at the aforementioned conference pertain to ours as well. For example, certain of our lectures are still delivered in the form of a monolog, whereas dialog and lively audience participation are what is needed. And certain lectures still suffer from lack of relevance to life. And the times demand that the doors of the auditoria be flung wide open to life. Every class should always be permeated with analysis of the urgent problems of the times. No, we must frankly admit that not all instructors have yet managed to achieve this.

[S.A. Dadunashvili (a university student)] I would say that there are not enough individual lectures on "future breakthroughs." They tell us too much about the past. And certain lecturers believe that we literally live neither in Tbilisi nor in Georgia. Of course we are "one Soviet people," but nevertheless when questions of shortcomings are taken up, one should first of all take a look at how matters stand in one's own place: we should rely more on local materials.

[Mushkin] Such failings exist. But they occur, in my opinion, because certain instructors know little of life. In order to find out about life, reference materials alone are not enough. We have more than enough reference materials in our university--they have any and all figures on the economy of the nation and the republic; on the realization of the social program; on cultural development; what have you. However, this alone is not sufficient to deliver a high-quality lecture. The instructor himself must go and visit the enterprises where his students work, or to the kolkhoz, and see just how the people live and work in their localities; then the lecture will not be divorced from reality, and the dialog will become relevant. Our department, for example, maintains continuous ties with the party organizations of Tbilisi and the Goriyskiy Rayon in the republic. The instructors deliver lectures at the working collectives; they assist in conducting scientific-practical conferences, and so on. On the other hand, while visiting the party organizations, they find out on the spot how the process of acceleration is being implemented, and how the reconstruction is going. The lectures of such instructors are closely associated with life, and they face practical matters head-on.

[Yakashvili] This is true. But in the process of self-criticism we nevertheless admit that not all departments structure their relationships with party committees in this manner. Here we and the raykoms of the Georgian CP should give some thought to how such work can be activated. Perhaps plans can be drawn up for cooperation between the departments of the university and its branches, and the propaganda and agitation departments of the party raykoms and gorkoms?

[Sh.A. Maglakelidze (Kutaisi Gorkom secretary, Georgian CP, and director of the Kutaisi branch of the University of Marxism-Leninism)] We are wholly and completely in favor of such cooperation.

[Moderator] I think that such cooperation would be especially useful when preparing and defending one's undergraduate and graduate theses, and in organizing socio-political practical work. You are apparently familiar on that count with the experience of the Kuybyshev UML, which its director described in the second issue of our magazine in 1986?

[Yakashvili] Yes, we've read the article by E. Lebedova. It's an interesting account and it is approximately along the very same plane that we are presently attempting to conduct our work. Along with auditorium lectures and seminars, we are conducting on-the-scene practical studies at enterprises, associations, and at republic-level ministerial departments--and there have been some positive results. For example, not so long ago a scientific-practical conference devoted to questions of ideological support of the development of the brigade work method was held at the Georgian SSR Ministry of Construction. Materials from this conference on the procedure for socio-political practical work were used by university students in holding talks in their working collectives. We have quite a few such examples.

[Sh.A. Veshapidze (UML instructor)] We are trying to apply more practical directions to the thesis work of UML graduates. A special list of work has been approved for these ends. Its main themes are directly associated with implementing the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the June (1986) Central Committee Plenum.

[Tolpygo] In a number of Moscow party organizations there has evolved what seems to us a good practice: the topics of thesis works selected by the students are approved at party committee sessions. This increases the responsibility of the communists for preparation of graduate work. The experience of defending one's thesis right in the working collectives is noteworthy. Such examples are found in Leningrad and in certain other universities. Nevertheless, one must admit that such practices have not yet become mass phenomena. Here we all still have something to work on.

[Moderator] Comrades, it would be interesting to hear your opinions with respect to training and retraining the instructor cadres of universities of Marxism-Leninism.

[T.D. Nanobashvili (UML instructor)] What kind of instructor are you if you still have to study? A UML instructor must be a master of revolutionary propaganda. If he hasn't mastered such information, there's simply no place for him at the university! (Everyone talking at once.)

[Surov] That is probably too much a maximalist judgement. Minvuz [Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education] as you know, has special institutes for increasing the skills of instructors in social disciplines, where the comrades receive a certain increase in their scientific knowledge and improve their methodological training. Incidentally, readers of POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE pose the question of whether these institutes have also taken up the cause of training and retraining instructor cadres for universities of Marxism-Leninism. What is your attitude toward this proposal?

[V.N. Chanukvadze (director of studies, Scientific Communism Department, UML)] The overwhelming majority of our instructors work in republic VUZ's in the social sciences departments; therefore they one way or another pass through retraining within the framework of the IPK [Higher Skills Institute]; and you see, in our view, for instructors from among the party and soviet workers and specialists on the national economy, such retraining would be extremely useful.

[Sh.A. Maglakelidze] Of course it is not easy for us to release a worker from the staff, even for a month, to the IPK. But if such an opportunity should present itself, we will try not to let it go by. It is a question of increasing the skills of a party worker and a university instructor, and here the advantage is twofold.

[Tolpygo] We have touched on the very important question of increasing the professional skills of a large group of university instructors comprised of party, soviet and economic workers. Of course it will not be solved simply by means of the IPK. But then periodically conducting courses for them--let's say two-week courses on a special program--is, probably, possible.

The Prestige of the Diploma

[Moderator] It seems that we have come right down to the questions, the answer to which depends directly upon the prestige of the diploma of a UML graduate. The first of these is bringing the cadres up to strength. And this is a very serious problem throughout the country. But as we understand from the report given by Sh.L. Papidze at the beginning of our conversation, there are no problems in selecting students for your university.

[Papidze] Well, that's not quite so. I was speaking of the fact that for the first time we've had an opportunity to hold a competition for those seeking entrance to the UML. Prior to this, a wholesale approach was taken. An assessment came down to the organization: such-and-such a raykom is to send so many people for training; and some another raykom, so many. There was no such thing as selection here. Whoever was sent was enrolled.

[T.V. Odilavadze (director of studies, Department of Methodology of Party Education, UML)] And you see, all of this has had its effect on the quality of education. The "inflation" of the university led to a situation in which groups of up to 60 people were trying to study! What kind of lessons can one have here? What kind of dialog?

[Veshapidze] In order to carry on a quality academic process, in my opinion there should be no more than 15-20 students in a group.

[Tolpygo] But why are the universities "swelling up"? Comrades G. Petrov and L. Bazilevich are correct when they write, that the category of a university depends on the number of students, and consequently, the wages of its workers. Hence the race for the number of students and the harm to quality of training (See POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, 1986, No 10, p 67). Such an approach must be decisively rejected.

[Papidze] And we have done so. We are admitting students on the basis of the needs of the party organizations for active ideological workers and the availability of instructors. The latter concerns our branches for the most part. For the time being there is a certain amount of difficulty there with the professorial-instructor cadres.

[Moderator] Shalva Levanovich [Papidze], please describe in more detail how enrollment in your university takes place.

[Papidze] Sometime in May the CPGe Central Committee Buro adopts a resolution on the next period of student admissions to the university of Marxism-Leninism, and approves the plan for selecting the quota. The student selection and registration commission carries out its work in accordance with this document. Their main task consists of selecting for training precisely those comrades who must be trained in first priority. Taking part in the commissions' meetings are both university officials, department directors of studies, and instructors.

[Odilavadze] And although we conduct the selection carefully, mistakes nevertheless occur. Once we happened to ask one of the comrades why he decided to enter the university, and he replied, "It was not I who decided--the party organization sent me." (Everyone talking at once.)

[Papidze] When making selections we try to place primary emphasis on party, soviet and komsomol workers, and on economic administrators. We must train the promising comrades--those who carry out ideological work or who are preparing themselves for that work, and therefore must be well up on theory as well as have the necessary methodological skills. In contrast with years past only administrative officials and a reserve for promotion to those positions study at the department for economic administrators.

[Moderator] I'd like to pose the question--How are the graduates of the university utilized in party and ideological work?

[Papidze] That's not an easy question. Here not everything depends upon the university. When party committees are considering personnel for promotion, we would very much like them to take into consideration whether these persons possess a diploma for higher political education in the party training system. But, unfortunately, this fact is not always considered, although there are special instructions on that account in the CPGe Central Committee resolution on the university of Marxism-Leninism.

[R.I. Dzhavakhishvili (Leninskiy Raykom first secretary, CPGe, Tbilisi)] We have begun to make careful inquiries of the aktiv about their university training, and not only when they are nominated for a new position. It is important that every graduate of the university of Marxism-Leninism be utilized by the party committees for ideological work as a propagandist, lecturer, political information specialist, or agitator. We cannot lose sight of such cadres.

[Kiknadze] Incidentally, in the republic today, only 12 percent of the propagandists, and party workers released for other duties, have higher political education. As you can see, the shortage is severe.

[Dzhavakhishvili] I believe we've managed to set things right in our rayon in this respect. At any rate, there are no cases in which a communist is turned into an "eternal student": you graduate from one department; they send you to a second one; and they're ready to send you to still another--you just go to school--but we have none of that. If you've graduated from a university, put your diploma to work!

[R.A. Sudzhashvili (party committee secretary at the Tbilpribor plant)] I support those comrades who have spoken out in the pages of the magazine POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in favor of making an entry on a communist's record card of the fact that he has received higher political education in the party training system. Otherwise, you see, it turns out that a communist gets put on the party rolls and we don't even know whether he's had political education or not, nor how to best utilize him for social work. A record of completion of the UML should be made on the record card. This also increases, if you will, the prestige of the diploma.

[Ye.G. Basiashvili (chief, Raykom imeni 26 Komissarov, Office of Political Education, CPGe, Tbilisi)] Since we've rejected a wholesale approach to bringing the UML student body up to the authorized level, the party committees now have the capability of making better selections of candidates for training at the university. And incidentally, when promoting a comrade we always take into consideration whether or not he's had higher political education. A communist supervisor without such a diploma is not, in my opinion, a supervisor. In recent times the party raykom buro has twice taken up the question of training supervisory cadres at the UML.

[Dzhavakhishvili] That's right. Graduates of the UML are our reserve for promotion. Today, of 1,200 propagandists in the Leninskiy Rayon of Tbilisi, almost half have higher political education. Eleven of our UML graduates have been awarded the title "Distinguished Propagandist of the Georgian SSR." And there's an illustration of the meaning of "prestige of the diploma" for you.

[Maglakelidze] I believe that the prestige of the diploma lies primarily in the knowledge which the graduate has received, and in the manner in which he is able to implement this knowledge. Today we probably have a right to say that our teaching is somewhat better. Increased requirements have been laid on both the professorial-instructor staff of the university, and on the students, for their studies; however, there are no grounds for complacency. There are still quite a few unresolved problems at the university. We've spoken of the programs here. And textbooks? "The Authors are Working: Have a Little Patience," was the title of an article in POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, was it not? The problem was raised in the article, that there were no textbooks for the party educational system and there still are none, even though a nationwide competition for creating a number of textbooks was held two years ago. The question of publishing textbooks for basic courses taken at the university of Marxism-Leninism was repeatedly raised at a variety of conferences, and in the press as well, but it is not being resolved.

[Chanukvadze] It seems that the ice has broken up. Politizdat has just released a text book on scientific communism. I was in Moscow, and managed to obtain one from the author, V.F. Khalipov.

[Voice] But all the same it's not for the university--it's for schools on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

[Maglakelidze] Well, nevertheless, there is an educational-methodological book on problems of scientific communism by E.V. Tadevosyan, intended just for universities of Marxism-Leninism! But the academic year will probably be ended by the time these books get to us. I think on the whole that it's high time we had our own bulletin, which would report on the work of the UML and would publish academic plans and methodological works on a timely basis.

[N.I. Kirvalidze (director of studies, UML Department of Philosophy)] For that purpose there ought to be a coordinating center (for example, at the facilities of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee) for supervising universities of Marxism-Leninism. It would also assume responsibility for publishing a special bulletin, and would organize the publication of methodological textbooks. I think it's time this question was resolved.

[Karumidze] Indeed, it is high time. Who supervises the universities of Marxism-Leninism at the present time? There is no such organ in the country. And so the directors of the universities ring one another up: "What do you have?" and "What do you have for me?" And they exchange methodological materials, plans and so on according to the principle, "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours." But all of this is on the level of self-help, of a sort. If we are serious when we talk about restructuring, we need to shout it out that the universities today need a coordinating center, where all work on supervising them would be concentrated. Where this center will be and attached to whom--that's an organizational question.

[Yakashvili] The wage situation for university workers is abnormal. Workers at Political Education Centers receive almost twice as much.

[Mushkin] I would put the question this way: Do you know of any instances in which a UML instructor was awarded the honorific title, "Distinguished Propagandist of the Georgian SSR," or was given an honorary degree by the republic Supreme Soviet? You don't? And this is, I think, our own fault. We underestimate the value of our own work. And after all, we have people who, one may say, have invested their lives in the university: they've worked here 25 or 30 years, and have trained hundreds of first-class propagandists.

[Moderator] Quite a few different opinions and proposals have been presented here on improving the work of universities of Marxism-Leninism, on raising the prestige of the diploma of its graduates, and so on. Of course, the conversation has gone beyond the bounds of our university. One would anticipate that--too many questions have accumulated, with respect to further development of the UML. This was described in a letter to the

editors of POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE the other day. The author, V. Maslennikova, is director of the UML at the Tatarskiy CPSU Obkom. Here is what she writes, to wit:

"We have been following with great interest all the materials published of late in the pages of POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE about universities of Marxism-Leninism. There are certain controversial aspects, but on the whole one receives a good impression of the restructuring of the work of the universities. We had hoped that everything would soon change for the better; after all, once a magazine writes an article, a new attitude toward the universities should appear at last. But alas...

"Universities of Marxism-Leninism are more often 'forgotten' not only in the newspapers, but even in party documents. It's as if this special ideological institute, which trains above all propagandists and ideological cadres, does not even exist. Incidentally, in recent years their function--the training of such cadres--has become our primary function. And how much time is yet required to finally deal with all of this? Not long ago we read in one of the central newspapers, that the training and retraining of propagandist cadres should be accomplished by means of two-week courses at political educational centers, at higher skills institutes, and at city, rayon, and branch seminars... That's true. But has there truly not been and is there not a university of Marxism-Leninism, which has for over 50 years been engaged in the training and retraining of propagandist cadres? Why is there not a single word about us?

"Another article literally stated the following: 'Of paramount importance to improving atheist education is the selection, training and retraining of propagandist cadres, equipping them with the latest knowledge, and the art of mastering the methods of persuasion. The All-Union 'Znaniye' [Knowledge] Society has an important role to play here.' And once again not a word about the university of Marxism-Leninism. After all, we have special departments for scientific atheism, and there is a course on 'Methods of Atheist Propaganda,' which is precisely where propagandists learn to master the methods of persuasion.

"And here is still another article. We read: 'Propagandists must not simply learn the science of propaganda. And here the leading role belongs to political education centers.' Oh very well--let them have the 'leading' role; but could not just one of the roles be 'left' to the university of Marxism-Leninism? One gets the impression that not one of the comrades who wrote these materials had ever heard of universities of Marxism-Leninism.

"And this is why we believe that it is necessary to continue to publish in your magazine the dialog about the essence, missions, and goals of the university of Marxism-Leninism. At least in this manner you will focus attention on the most important, most prestigious educational institution of our party."

[Voice] Its just one thing after another.

[Yakashvili] You're right. What can you say? This letter is a cry from the soul. In many ways it is in harmony with our ideas. And I can understand why the editors decided to read it to us at the conclusion of our discussion--this is a tactical move. (Laughter) If you had read the letter to us at the beginning it would have seemed that we were discussing the letter--a similar subject.

[Moderator] Well, go ahead and call it a "tactical move" if you like, or merely a "similar subject." The main thing, comrades, is that we wished to discuss with you the problems connected with restructuring universities of Marxism-Leninism in the light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress, and increasing their role in training ideological cadres. In our opinion we did keep the discussion in this channel. /But what sort of questions were raised? Let us formulate together the basic propositions for further restructuring the UML, which were expressed here: /

--A new statute must be drawn up on universities of Marxism-Leninism. The status, in contemporary conditions, of this academic institution, which operates within the party educational system, must be clearly defined. The principal efforts of the UML must be concentrated on training and retraining propagandist and ideological cadres, and on training a party-managerial aktiv that is capable of successfully solving the problems of accelerating the country's socio-economic development.

--The question of coordinating the work of universities of Marxism-Leninism from a single center has become imminent.

--The universities must have their own programs, textbooks and training aids.

--The time has come to decisively reject a wholesale approach to bringing the university student body up to authorized strength, and "inflating" them exorbitantly. The needs of party organizations for ideological cadres, and the availability of skilled instructors, must be carefully considered.

--An instructor at the university has been charged to teach his students to think independently and creatively, and to speak with the people only in the language of truth; lively dialog in the auditorium, and a not a monolog, is the indispensable requirement for a UML instructor; and every class at the university must be permeated with analysis of the actual problems of the times, and must face practical experience head-on.

--Party committees approve the topics of the graduate theses of of UML graduates. Defense of these theses, as a rule, is conducted in the labor collectives.

--When promoting workers, it is an indispensable condition to consider whether he has received higher political education in the framework of the party training system. An entry should be made on graduation from the UML on a communist's record card.

--Every graduate of the university of Marxism-Leninism must "put his diploma to work" as a propagandist, agitator, or political information specialist, or in another social skill which he acquired at the UML.

[Moderator] Of course these are only some of the questions which were examined at our "round table" discussion today. It seems sensible to acquaint the readers of POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE with the substance of the talks being held, and to continue the dialog on the pages of our magazine... And that is what we shall do.

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9006

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RELIGION

'PARASITIC,' 'HYPOCRITICAL' ISHANS EXPOSED

Dushanbe AGITATOR TADZHIKISTANA in Russian No 23, Dec 86 pp 18-20

[Article by M. Davlatov, instructor, Department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, TGMI [Tajik State Medical Institute imeni Abuali ibn Sina]: under the rubric: "Reason against Religion": "Spiritual People without Spirit"; first paragraph is AGITATOR TADZHIKISTANA introduction; passages between slant lines are in boldface in original text]

[Text] We will be speaking about the ishans and stripping the masks of mystery from their "shining" faces. But not in the way their murids [proselytes] or other people who believe in them do. For example, they speak about the ishans generally as follows: "The ishans are great persons. They possess a miracle-working force. With one breath they are able to cure any disease. Their faces are beautiful and shine with a kind of light." Anybody who says this or is prepared to believe such things is profoundly mistaken. Let's attempt to interpret our assertion.

And so, ishans are supposed to be great persons. The following question immediately arises: In what way have they provided themselves with such greatness? By their own labor, for example, at factories, plants, or in the cotton fields? Such honor has been gained through toil by working people and belongs to every honest worker and kolkhoz member. Or another question. Could it be that these people are outstanding for their knowledge? If that is so, then they must know that great persons are precisely those conscientious toilers who work for the well-being of society and who honestly earn their rubles by working.

Furthermore, the ishans ascribe to themselves a mystical link with the "holy men" of the past, calling themselves heirs of the traditional pirs [elder-mentors] and, moreover, offspring of the sahids, piously just people who trace their origins (by genealogy or religious traditions) back to Mohammed. In the ishans' view, therefore, an orientation of believers toward them is the criterion of their piety, God-fearing quality, and a guarantee of their happiness and health on Earth as well as the attainment of God's approbation for the "life of paradise" in "heaven." Serving as proof of this, for example, in the opinion of their murids, is the fact that the beautiful faces of these ishans radiate a "divine" light. All this is, of course, absurd. For while the ishans' murids seek out and discover some elements of beauty,

mostly external, moreover, in their "smiling" faces, Marxists, on the other hand, by proceeding from the deepest foundations of human beauty, see it in a unity between the external and the internal, the physical and the social, in the harmonious combination of all facets manifesting man's aesthetic essence. In other words, Marxism combines, moreover, by a rich dialectical connection, beauty with its creators, which are primarily the working people. In this only true and genuine meaning of beauty, the ishans can in no way become its bearers, not even to mention them as its creators. Beauty is the essence inherent in a people-as-creator, its inner world, whose true manifestation is recognized through its creations and its deeds. For example, let's mention the kolkhoz members, who provide a genuine beauty for the world, inspiring the most living beauty in the furrows they make in the cotton fields, who grow "white gold" and many other things, even though because of suntans they do not have "white faces" like the "white faces" these ishans have because of their constant idleness. Or take our working class. Having created the greatest revolution in the world and the armed beauty of this revolution, it is the vanguard of building a communist society. Here are people about whom we have the right to speak when it is a matter of beauty and, furthermore, about its bearers and creators.

However, people in general and working people in particular are regarded differently by these ishans and their murids, from the viewpoint of the Koran, which concludes that, to use its words, "man is created powerless" (4:26), a being whose life and destiny are exclusively linked with supernatural forces; moreover, on this ideological foundation it has preached and is preaching not an active, life-affirming, but rather a passive, "exploited" nature of the human being. Their point of view, let's note immediately, is not valid; it is anti-social, and the Koranic verse cited by them is illusory, distorted, and fantastic. By the way, why do we use the term "fantastic" to describe this and other similar ideas from the Koran, and what condition gave rise to characterizing them in such a way? The cause is concealed within the life of man himself, i.e., when the social world becomes alien to man, and the products of his activity turn out to be the property of others, people themselves willy-nilly become subject to similar alien ties between each other, at the same time becoming powerless. Now, furthermore, they do not regard objects and phenomena in their essence or their inner contents but are, on the contrary, as outside the real world, so to speak, in the realm of the mysterious and the beyond. To use F. Engels' words, in a man's awareness, /"Earthly forces assume the form of unearthly forces"/ and hence seem fantastic or otherwise "divine." However, when Marxist theory was constructed, thanks to the profound insight of its creators, it was able to reveal in this perverse, alienated world the true foundations of any kind of alienation, and it posed the question of returning /to man-the-creator all his wealth, all that rightfully belongs to him, making people omnipotent. For this purpose it also became atheistic, which meant returning to man the products of his consciousness, his socio-spiritual essence, cutting off everything illusory and fantastic from them,/ and struggling against all those persons who speculate in these fantastic ideas and who abuse people's religious feelings. In this sense we can particularly note the anti-human essence of the actions and opinions of the ishans as well as the anti-socialist nature of the ishan-murid attitudes.

As is known, most ishans do not engage in active, socially useful work: either they are employed (and more often merely listed) as a guard or a janitor, or--no matter how mocking it may sound--as a worker, concealing themselves by the appearance of being a working person. /Can we not cite as proof of what has been stated above the exposure by discussion at a meeting of Tajikistan's ideological activists (Held on 30 September 1986) of the parasitical life and activity of abdu-Rakhman Saidov and his son, abdu-Kudus Saidov, who, while listed as workers, engaged in a parasitic, illegal way of life? The same thing can be said of the ishan Sorbon and his sons (a well-argued article with proof was published by M. Mirzoshoyev about them in the newspaper KOMSOMOLI TODZHIKISTON, dated 7 May 1986)./ In short, they are parasites on the body of our Soviet socialist system and our honest people, believers as well as non-believers. Therefore, the party and its atheistic activists want believers to know the ishans' true face, their parastical nature, and, together with all honest Soviet people, to struggle against them.

But let the believers also know that even their religion, albeit in a fantastic way, speaks out against such parasitic people, calling them hypocrites. Yes, in fact, the hypocritical ishans, for in their words they consider themselves as working people, by religious criteria--the most devout, the most genuine adherents of religion, but in their deeds they contradict its teachings. For example, /the Koran, in the sura "al-Munofikun ("the Hypocrites") speaks about them as follows: "And when you seen them, their figures will delight you. But if they speak, you will hear their words as if they came from posts placed there. They are foes, so be on your guard against them!"/ In the original commentary to the Koran entitled /"Tafsir-ul-Muminin,"/ compiled by a group of Arab ulemma, this verse is interpreted in the following manner: /"If you see the figures of the hypocrites, they will be pleasing to you and to all who look upon them. They are tall and beautiful. When they speak, you will also find that they speak beautifully and attractively. However, these figures are like wooden posts within which there is no spirit."/ Thus, the ishans are spiritual people without spirit, and their "beauty" which their murids affirm is simply a deceptive appearance.

And so, even judging by a sura in the Koran, we can conclude that /they, i.e. the ishans, have nothing in common either with Mohammed or Islam./ We can confirm what we have said by going more deeply into the matter.

In talking about them further, even in furnishing some more details, let's note that their history goes back quite a long way, and the present-day ishan-murid attitudes, even though they hark back to such fundamental roots, constitute a perverted reproduction of them, a distorted tradition which adopted the reactionary aspects of the pir-murid attitudes of the medieval Sufi movement. Let's talk about this in greater detail. This movement was a positive phenomenon, especially at first. It concentrated the newly strengthened social protest which had been brought about by the increased feudal oppression of working people. Those who expressed the social aspects of this movement called themselves /Sufis (from the Arabic word 'sufi,' literally persons wearing woolen clothing)./ They devoted themselves to an "anti-feudal way of life," which amounted basically to attempts to "liberate" people from class-exploitative attitudes and worldly passions, considering all this to be a false foundation for human existence. Further on in their

teachings a definite mysticism began to appear (with the exception of the irfan [idealistic metaphysics]-pantheistic enlightenment tradition in it), which, in our opinion, cannot be regarded as a positive feature of this movement. For, although denying any genuine meaning in the feudal existence, they did not see, nor could they explain, the real paths to liberate oneself from it. On the contrary, they distorted it still further by setting forth the mystical life as a genuine existence, including within it a merging of the Sufi in his own unique state with the divine being, as if included within the individuals themselves. This is not a call for people to take part in an active social struggle but rather an illusory, mystical "affirmation" of their human nature, which actually contains nothing progressive. But here we must dwell on this /state of merging./ Thus, he who attains such a state will become a pir [elder-mentor] for the subsequent followers of this movement--the murids. And the relations between them are the pir-murid or ishan-murid relations.

But let's continue our discussion on the phenomenon of Sufism. As we have noted, it did not always or in all the forms of its manifestation retain its positive nature. This was especially true later on, when class-exploiting factions turned to it; they adapted the ascetic ideas engendered by the spirit of Sufism to their own ideological preaching about a kind of mystical unity of all people--rich and poor--thus veiling their class antagonism. They relegated to Sufism the spirit of passive asceticism, which signified the rejection of the oppressed for the sake of this "divine unity" with the oppressors, as well as a rejection of worldly temptations, by which they meant everything that belonged or was necessary to the poor. Thus, the class content of Sufism allows us to make distinctions within it between its historically progressive tendency and its reactionary tendency, to understand the popular and anti-popular essence of its trends. In short, while the "progressive" Sufis (meaning the pirs and murids), preached a rejection of the world as a protest against the life of exploitation, the reactionary Sufis and their pirs and murids taught the poor to reject the world and its riches for the sake of the rich. And, as we have seen, there is a great difference between them. Consequently, /the reactionary Sufis, each of their pirs and murids, were permeated with the exploitative ideology; they themselves gradually became feudal lords and exploiters, but what was even more shameful, anti-human./ Because people, due to their own religious limitations and blindness, believed them, and they, of course, abused this trust doubly--economically and spiritually. And they exploited the believing working people. But the essence of the matter lies in something still else. /Don't our "contemporary" ishans remind us of these pir-exploiters, the only difference being that in our socialist society they have no social forces on their side?/ Indeed, if these have any sort of link with the traditional pirs, /it is precisely with their conservative, reactionary component./ Since the "contemporary" ishans certainly lack that moral greatness inherent in the protesting Sufis, those pirs who condemned with hatred the idle life of the rich strata the ascetic protest against which comprised a significant, political meaning. /And it would be very offensive even to compare them with these ishans. Is not such a comparison contradicted by their parasitical way of life, their striving to accept as many "rich" murids as possible, and to enrich themselves at society's expense as well as by undeserved alms?/ It may be that they also preach asceticism, but their asceticism no longer lies in

rejecting many wives, splendid homes, beautiful cars, and other things, i.e., it lies in rejecting honest, active work for the well-being of society. One simply feels sorry for those people, especially the believers who make sacrifices because of their faith in these parasites and spongers, among whom, one can see with one's own eyes there is nothing human left, not to mention anything "holy" or truly spiritual. Because the only truly spiritual quality inheres in a person when he is capable of living socially, an honest and creative life, free from profit-seeking self interest and money-grubbing. The ishans, however, are undoubtedly lacking in such happiness. This is reaffirmed time after time by their participation in funerals or funeral repasts.

It is well known what unhappiness and grief the death of a loved one brings. /But such a tragedy is perceived differently by the ishans, who rejoice in their greedy souls at the appearance of a new opportunity to grow fat on somebody else's grief./ They, or more likely one of them (two would be impossible, for the--the "servants of God"--would certainly quarrel out of fear that one of them might get less at this "holy meal") are invited for the purpose of leading the funeral procession. As the foremost spiritual person at the "event" he has already given the deceased's close relatives not religious but some completely secular advice: /slaughter one of the cattle (preferably the largest), bake hundreds of loaves of bread, allocate a minimum of two or three thousand rubles (the funeral alms) for "Irtys", and a great deal else. Moreover, he will not be shy about reminding them of the rug, without which he would not be able to lead the prayers for the deceased./

The question arises: For the sake of what do they act this way when they come to funerals? Is it for the sake of religion? Hardly. On the contrary, it is not in the name of religion, but rather /using the name of religion, in their own parasitical interests./ This means that the ishans can be charged not only with parasitism, religious deceit, and machinations, /but also with a moral crime, consisting of spiritually and economically bankrupting a human being./ But this cannot help becoming a serious condition for the reproduction and retention of religiosity in the consciousness of believers. It is the ishans who are primarily to blame for this. Therefore, it would be insulting to honest working people to call these spiritually empty men "great persons," possessing miracle-working powers.

By the way, a word about their miracle-working. Atheists have absolutely no belief in the capacity of such charlatans to work miracles. They [atheists] believe in the miracle working of the working people, who are building the great miracle of communism. For example, they believed in the working people and that they could bring about a socialist revolution and build socialism. And these treasured aspirations were indeed carried out. Despite this, i.e., although life has shown that it is precisely in working people that we must believe, certain believers, nevertheless, still "believe" in the ishans and still fear them. Sometimes they themselves say: "If you insult an ishan, he can pray to God and your face would become crooked." Let's say right off that nothing of the kind would happen. And certain people believe in them or fear them because they do not know their "treasured" essence, their true features. And they are hampered in this by their religious consciousness through which everything seems turned about, obscured, and deprived of its real clarity.

Another reason is /the weakness of atheistic education./ Therefore, let's say, by way of conclusion, that our atheism should always be militant, and this means a merciless struggle against the activities of the ishans and all kinds of self-styled mullahs. This is mentioned in the CPSU Program, where it states the following: /"the Party uses the means of ideological influence for the broad-based dissemination of the scientific-materialist world view, for overcoming religious prejudices.... while advocating the inviolable observance of the constitutional guarantees regarding the freedom of conscience, the Party condemns attempts to utilize religion to the detriment of the society and the individual."/ In other words, the atheistic struggle against religion must be linked with the activity of its bearers, particularly the reactionary-minded ones. Moreover, it must be done by relying on the support of the believers themselves, by helping them to free themselves completely from the confused tangle of religion, and to comprehend the transforming meaning of the Marxist theory of the world, man, and society.

2384

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RELIGION

RELIGION'S POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT DENIED

Kishinev KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII in Russian No 10, Oct 86 (signed to press 5 Sep 86) pp 70-76

[Article by L. Grishanov, candidate of philosophical sciences, and T. Belkina: "Culture and Religion: The Problems of Their Interdependence and Its Falsification"]

[Excerpts] Religious ideologists have always attempted to present the role of religious doctrines in society's development as a purely positive one. Now they are depicting religion as the source and foundation of spiritual culture, right up to the point of positing a direct identification between these concepts, and they connect mankind's future with a "religious renaissance" ("rebirth"), with the "liberation" of society from atheism. Particularly on the threshold of the millenium of the introduction of Christianity into Rus [Ancient Russia], there have been frequent attempts to prove the complete dependence of Russian literature on Orthodoxy. Moreover, such attempts ignore the indisputable role of the people as the genuine author of history and hence also the creator of spiritual culture. They treat contemporary cultural processes in connection with the decline of religious influence on the course of social development, and they have proclaimed a crisis of national cultures as well as that of mankind's culture as a whole. So an objective and multi-faceted analysis of the dialectical picture of reality is greatly confused and obscured by the substitution of false, illusory ideas for scientific knowledge, and this is typical of the religious world outlook.

The thesis that religion is the foundation and deciding factor for the development of culture is pretentious and certainly false. It is founded on an objectively reactionary idea: to instill in people the conviction that religion is necessary and useful. In essence, this is the most distorted propaganda of religion. Its harm is doubtless, albeit not always obvious: thus, persons who fail to understand the essence, sources, and roots of the religious consciousness with a certain ideological "processing" can be led to believe this idea. Improper handling of the above-mentioned problems is the source of the appearance of "God-seeking motifs" in literature, something which was mentioned at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. (Footnote 1) ("Materialy Plenuma Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS 14-15 iyunya 1983 g." [Materials from the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee Held on 14-15 June 1983], Moscow, 1983, p 48)

Marxism-Leninism proceeds from the position that material production is the foundation for the development of society. It is precisely in the process of creating material goods that man comes to know nature and to penetrate deeper and deeper into its secrets. And it is during the course of social production that morality arises, i.e., certain norms of mutual relations among people.

In the process of material production man begins not merely to create various objects which he needs for vital activities but also strives to improve them as much as possible. There gradually also begins to appear a need to create those things which are not designated for specifically vital needs but rather to satisfy a special feeling unique to man--the feeling for beauty. And finally, material production and labor improve man himself; they form him as a social being and transform society, determining social processes.

However, religion itself also arises in the process of labor activity. This occurs because within the production sphere man's relationship to nature took shape in the following two ways: on the one hand, he is a master, author, and creator in nature; while, on the other hand, he is the slave of unknown natural phenomena, a being dependent upon various external forces and circumstances.

Thus, the degree of man's domination over nature and social phenomena served as the foundation for the development of science, art, and the atheistic world outlook. But the degree of man's dependence on natural phenomena and social situations facilitated the emergence of the religious world outlook. And the weaker the society, the stronger is the power of natural and social phenomena over it, and the more solid in it are the positions occupied by religion.

Man's creation of religion is simply an attempt to free himself from domination by natural and social forces alien to genuine progress.

Thus, man "bifurcates" the world: in addition to the natural, real world, a supernatural, illusory world appears in his imaginings.

No matter how paradoxical it may seem, despite the unreality of the supernatural world, ideas about it have frequently begun to exert a real influence on the history of society.

But religion is an extraordinarily complex phenomena, contradictory in many respects, and this circumstance creates great difficulties in revealing its true role in cultural history. Above all, we must bear in mind that one of the characteristic features of religion is syncretism. The encyclopedia provides the following explanation of this term: 1--something not broken down into constituent parts, characteristic of the undeveloped stage of some phenomenon; 2--a mixture, an inorganic merging of heterogeneous elements, for example, that of various cults and religious systems during the later period of antiquity.

When speaking of religion, syncretism means that it (having in mind any one of the existing religions), in the first place, constitutes the result of a merger, a combination of various religious beliefs and their elements; in the second place, it includes and "sanctifies" positions and ideas which are not religious.

Thus, having taken these ideas into their "sanctified" doctrines of belief, religion imparts a sacral nature to them, cloaking them in religious garb.

Religion's "monopolization" of elements which are essentially non-religious may be traced most clearly in the example of morality. Various moral regulators and norms for people's lives began to appear at such an early social stage (strictly speaking, from the time when anthropogenesis was completed) that it is impossible to speak about the rational or irrational ideas which existed at that time. But with the appearance of developed religions under the conditions of a class society, the accelerated norms of morality proved to be a component of the religious systems, which subordinated them to their own interests. Thus, Judaism, and later on, Christianity, included within the schemes of their ideologies such age-old principles of human co-existence as "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not steal," etc. Based on these extremely ancient borrowings religious apologists from all periods have asserted that without religion morality could not exist and that human culture, and hence society itself, could not function normally. Such assertions undoubtedly constitute a complete violation of the cause-and-effect links in the rise of the religious ideology.

It is precisely because of syncretism that we can encounter in any religion a mass of mutually contradictory assertions and positions. Within Christianity, for example, completely opposite opinions about the nature of man co-existed for many centuries. This has allowed religion, in cases of necessity, to change its orientation to something directly opposite or to "fine-tune" its views to suit the social situations of the clerics, relying each time on some dogma or other.

The rise in society of the ideas of humanism also exerted an influence on Christianity: It began to accord more attention to man. Present-day theologians now assert that Christianity is a religion which humanizes society. We cannot agree with such an assertion, inasmuch as it is completely obvious that within the Christian anthropology man has no value in and by himself; he is presented there as being of interest only as one of God's creatures, and his principal purpose consists of serving God and scorning everything worldly and human.

The syncretism of religion allows it to ascribe to itself the "merits" of having a positive influence on the development of art and culture, on strengthening morality, etc. But it succeeds in doing this only when and where the non-religious elements of culture are presented as religious. For example, in attracting art to its service, in using art as a means of strengthening faith and enslaving man, the church proclaims its own "merits" in the development of art.

It is extremely instructive to examine the problem of the correlation between culture and religion, taking into consideration the functional characteristics of the latter. Religion came into being as a result of man's powerlessness initially in the face of nature and later when confronted by social phenomena which were alien and not understood by him. Faith in the supernatural was called upon, in the first place, to fill out this powerlessness, to impart to

man a confidence that he, armed with religious ideas and a cult, would be able to exist more successfully in this world and cope with it better. This function, which is important for religion, emphasizes the specific, and it is called "illusory-compensatory," inasmuch as it creates merely the appearance of overcoming man's powerlessness.

Religious illusions arose in man, first of all, in those spheres of activity where he felt himself to be particularly weak and helpless.

Not knowing how to explain the world around him correctly nor the phenomena occurring in it, and not having learned to recognize his own place in it, the religious man shirks the limitation of his own consciousness and explains everything unknown as the "supernatural" manifestations of some other-worldly will.

Thereby religion performs the function of world outlook. Of course, since it is a fantastic reflection of the world (F. Engels), in performing this world-outlook function, it distorts the actual picture and hinders people from acquiring a scientific cognition of the world.

By influencing the mutual relations among believers, religion also performs an integrative function: by uniting persons who profess the same faith, it is capable of consolidating even the representatives of various different classes into a certain integrated whole, facilitating the veiling of and also perserving the antagonistic social relations, proclaiming class inequality and other vices of society to be "divinely established."

But even though it is a means of uniting the believers of one confession, religion, at the same time, functions as a means of enslavement, dividing people of different confessions, and thereby fulfilling what is essentially a disintegrating function. The differences set forth by clerics on religious grounds have often been used and are still being used by reactionary forces for enslaving working people, distracting them from their genuine class interests, and for concealing their own selfish, profit-seeking interests.

Closely linked with religion's integrative function is its communicative function, i.e., the establishment of diverse ties among persons professing the same faith. Communality of doctrinal faith is that foundation on which economic-everyday, family, trade, and other ties grow. During various historical epochs religion's communicative function has manifested itself in different ways: it can be traced more precisely where other social relations are weaker. However, while strengthening the ties between those who have the same faith, religion complicates, limits, and even prohibits any contacts with those of other faiths, thereby facilitating the preservation of enclosed groups, which are easier to control and in which it is simpler to maintain the most backward, outmoded norms and traditions.

Thus, even in its own communicative function, religion has developed a negative attitude toward the "world," toward everything new and progressive, without which it is impossible truly to participate in human culture, whose development takes place only as a result of a broad communality outside of confessional limitations.

Furthermore, religion is capable of influencing, and quite powerfully influencing, people's conduct, thereby performing a regulative function on this level. This function is carried out through its cult activities, as well as via a system of various types of prohibitions and prescriptions such as contained in any religion. We should note that the older the religion, the more varied are the rules contained by it.

As a distorted reflection of the world, religion dictates to man norms of conduct which are conditioned by the doctrinal faith. Christianity organizes man to achieve happiness in the other world at the price of rejecting a normal human life in the real world. In accordance with Christian ideals, to live means, above all, to reject everything worldly, to forget about one's own human destiny. Poverty of the spirit has been proclaimed for a long time as the highest virtue. It is not by chance that in Rus the concepts of "mad," "blessed," "foolish," and "holy" were merged. There was even a unique expression--"a holy fool for the sake of Christ." And the more astounding was the physical or psychological mutilation, the more it was regarded as the highest manifestation of holiness and spirituality. Spirituality in religion functioned as a unique kind of dehumanization of the personality: The less of the human that remained in a person, the more they were delighted with him, honored him and attempted to imitate him.

Religion has distorted and is d'storting a person's life; it asserts that the value of life is merely a preparation for the eternal life beyond the grave. Therefore, a person must not simply and without complaint accept worldly difficulties and sufferings, but he should even rejoice in them and create them for himself as a means of "saving his soul" for the life beyond the grave."

In considering the influence of religion on the development of culture, we must bear in mind that the social functions of religion differ from the social functions of the church. The church acts as a social institution, having certain functions, funds, a system of administration and controls, as well as its own nucleus--the clergy, which, as a rule, is organized according to the principle of a strict hierarchy. The medium within the church functions is the mass of believers.

The basic purpose of the church is to develop and disseminate the religious ideology, unite the believers on the foundation of the unified faith, as well as to organize and disseminate religious rituals based on doctrine. Also serving to propagandize the religious ideology are special ecclesiastical institutions--monasteries and convents. But in addition to this, the church also performs certain non-religious functions. These may include educational and charitable activities, the creation of chronicles, registration of documents regarding civil status, and a number of economic and political tasks.

It is important to note that the church's religious functions are always inherent to it and in all its socio-economic formations. They can change their formal aspect somewhat, but in essence they remain unchanging and determining. And it should be particularly emphasized that only in those cases where the religious organizations perform non-religious functions can they have a positive influence on the development of culture. But while engaging in its basic principle--

religious activity, the church, in the final analysis, invariably harms the development of science and culture, and retards the well-rounded development of a person.

Thus, the following becomes evident: the culture-creating, humanistic, educational, beneficial, and other progressive actions of the church are merely ancillary side issues, not basic, not connected with its essence (frequently even contradicting it), while its reactionary aspect is a constantly operating factor, its basic feature, determining, in the final analysis, the hostility of the religious ideology to any rational, scientific world outlook.

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RELIGION

ROLE OF CINEMA IN ATHEIST PROPAGANDA DISCUSSED

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 87 p 2

[Discussion with candidate of philosophical sciences S. Ivanenko and T. Pavlova, lecturer of the All-Union Znaniye Society, recorded by Ye. Basovskaya under the rubric "School of Atheism": "Dialogue After the Movies"]

[Text] It is no secret that elements of religious feeling are still preserved in the consciousness of many people. Displacing them is long and difficult work. And a special role in this work belongs to the most popular art form--the movies. We asked editor-in-chief of the main script-editing collegium on artistic films and member of the collegium of USSR Goskino [State Committee for Cinematography] A.N. Medvedev to tell us what films involving the questions of atheist indoctrination have come out in recent years or are being planned for the near future.

Among the films of recent years. A.N. Medvedev named the film "U prizrakov v pleny" [Imprisoned by Phantoms] (Studio imeni Dovzhenko, 1984), the 1985 pictures "Rus iznachalnaya" [Primordial Rus] (Film Studio imeni M. Gorkiy) and "Obyatiya mechty" [Embraces of a Dream] (Uzbekfilm Film Studio). As you can see, the list is not very long. It is true that the films "Khromoy dervish" [The Lame Dervish] (Tadzhikfilm along with Hungary) and "Lyubov khudozhnika Mani" [The Love of the Artist Mani] (Kirgizfilm) are supposed to come to the screen. That list is enough to indicate that mainly the cinematographers of the Union republics are working on the problems of atheist indoctrination.

When choosing a film to see together with specialists on scientific atheism, the editorial office was guided by one criterion: the interest which the film aroused among the audience. After all, there is no need to hide it: most of them do not bear up under even the most undemanding criticism. The same is true of the film "Ishchu moyu sudbu" [I Seek My Fate] (Mosfilm, 1975). We obtained information on its popularity at the Moscow City Film Rental Office. We also watched two documentary films that are "in the active file" of the Moscow film rental office--"Pravda o Ksenii Blazhennoy" [The Truth About St. Kseniya] (Leningrad Popular Science Film Studio, 1962) and "Mariyina sudba" [Mariya's Fate] (Ukrainian Popular Science Film Studio, 1976). Unfortunately, we did not find anything newer in the Moscow office.

Participating in the film viewing were specialists on questions of scientific atheism: candidate of philosophical sciences S. Ivanenko and lecturer of the All-Union Znaniye Society T. Pavlova. After the showing the main questions of the meeting were: are artistic film workers making an adequate contribution to atheist indoctrination, and what specifically is needed to improve this type of film propaganda?

S. Ivanenko: A discussion of the role of film in atheist indoctrination is extremely important. Party documents and scientific research on this subject always note that propaganda for a scientific worldview must be systematic, encompass different spheres of human interests, and simultaneously influence the rational and the emotional spheres of consciousness. The idea of atheist work as selecting proper lectures is hopelessly outdated. Now radio, television, and the press provide an enormous stream of timely information, and interest in lectures is declining. It is declining because the lectures are usually produced according to the set pattern and they contain worn-out platitudes. Contemporary anti-religious propaganda must meet the demands of the day, be based on the latest achievements of science, and use modern mass information media, of course including such a popular media as films.

T. Pavlova: Sociologists confirm that the so-called "spontaneous atheists" make up a significant part of our country's population. These people who do not believe in God but have no conscious and active life position regard worldview questions indifferently. A particular approach is needed for this group. And in this work film is indispensable. It is film which is able to give these people facts and arguments capable of turning them into confirmed fighters against religious dogma. But, alas, we have very little film material. We realized this once again while preparing for this talk.

S. Ivanenko: That is a question for people in the film art form. But film rental workers should give it some thought too. No matter how difficult the situation is with films on this subject, a careful inventory of what has been amassed in warehouses must be made. We must not lag behind the development of science and the cultural level of the audience. We watched the film "Pravda o Ksenii Blazhennoy." Its authors are trying to convince the audience that the cult of St. Kseniya was created by the cunning fabrications of churchmen. They show us all kinds of things to corroborate this version! They even show a special device by which the priest leaves tracks that resemble the tracks of a woman's bare feet on the snow. Most likely this film would have seemed naive even 20 years ago. But today it looks antiscientific. Scientists long ago disproved the view that religious illusions are usually the result of deceit on the part of the priests of the cult. You can fight against religion only when you know its real roots--gnosiological and social. Films must appear which not only have great emotional force but, no less important, are historically correct and well documented.

T. Pavlova: And I have complaints about the popular science film "Mariykina sudba": it contains a rough, unsubstantiated attack against believers. The film mentions a sect of true Orthodox Christians but nothing sensible is said about it, about the real harm it does to people, and at the same time the audience may be left with the wrong idea that all members of the sect practice human sacrifice.

S. Ivanenko: Unfortunately, this "aggressive" manner was characteristic of our film propaganda for quite a long time. But notice, please: the term "antireligious film" has fallen into general disuse. In our work we must not "attack" religion; rather we have to show its scientific bankruptcy convincingly. We must also not close our eyes to the fact that certain religious communities are managing to create an atmosphere of spiritual closeness among people, and even mutual aid.

T. Pavlova: Of course, people who have been unfairly offended, lost their bearing in life, are confused, or have been knocked down by life's misfortunes often turn to religion. The film hardly deals with this problem at all. But it would be worthwhile to make a film on the illusory and real aid given to a person in misfortune. Such an attempt is made in the film "Ishchu moyu sudby" but, in my opinion, the film is too weak in the artistic sense to answer these serious questions. It has a lot of dialogue and little action and the plot lines are unconvincing.

S. Ivanenko: Popular science film studios also have some work to do. For example, a series of film and television short subjects on Moscow architectural monuments--the churches which we Muscovites pass every day--could be made. Speaking of historical monuments, the real role of the church rather than the role thought up by the defenders of religion could be inobtrusively but convincingly mentioned. Such films would play an important indoctrinational role both on the level of love of one's native city and on the level of atheist propaganda.

T. Pavlova: And at the movies such historical sketches would be nice short features before the start of the show. By the way, I've never seen film journals devoted to the problems of atheism. One more thing: if we are talking about an artistic film devoted to questions of religion and atheist propaganda, it should be a "money-maker," as they say. To do this the main thing would probably be to find a worthy literary basis.

S. Ivanenko: In order to arouse audience interest, it's enough to deal with subjects which concern young people today: the moral content of Eastern religions and "mystic" phenomena. At the Akademkniga Bookstore recently I saw people grab up literally every copy of the monograph "Psikhologicheskiye aspekty buddizma" [The Psychological Aspects of Buddhism], which was generally intended for scientists. We are obliged to take this interest into account and give a well-thought-out and detailed discussion of these problems in our literature, newspapers, and film. This is an area where scientists, journalists, and figures in art can work together.

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RELIGION

KOLOMNA ATHEIST PROPAGANDA 'INADEQUATE'

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 87 p 6

[Article by V. Yevseyev, associate of the journal NAUKA I RELIGIYA: "Atheism Is Confirmed by Deeds: Who Is Going to Mass?"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] On Sundays in the village of Cherkizovo--the center of the Sovkhoz imeni Dimitrov--one can see quite a few people of all ages going to mass at the local St. Nicholas Church. Are all of them really believers or have they come simply out of curiosity? And how does this picture compare with optimistic reports and statements to the effect that baptisms and church weddings are declining and that the whole population of the city and region is encompassed by atheist activities? Let us look at particular examples.

"Unfortunately, in recent years we have been captivated by the illusion that there are no longer any believers at all," I was told by A. Safonov, the head of the department of propaganda and agitation of the Kolomna party gorkom. "Moreover, formalism has predominated in atheist indoctrination. The reports of party committees and the city organization of the Znaniye Society have been regularly heard at the party gorkom and a generally favorable picture has been seen: the number of lectures given and talks held have grown and the number of propagandists of scientific atheism and organizers of atheist work at enterprises, farms, tekhnikums, and schools trained has been impressive. 'Atheist corners' have been set up everywhere and new holidays and rituals have been refined and introduced. But it has turned out that behind the usual deluge of impressive figures, man with his concerns, problems, sadnesses, and joys has been ignored."

Yes, the picture seen in Cherkizovo confirms the admission of the head of the gorkom department. And in fact, this is not as surprising as it may seem at first glance. The people of Kolomna, like the residents of Zagorsk for example, have long been distinguished by greater adherence to religion. Kolomna is more than 800 years old. The Church of the Blessed Assumption was built in the kremlin there long ago, in honor of the victory over Mamay. That church, plus the Bobrenev Monastery on the bank of the Moscow River, and the Staro-Golutvinskiy, Novo-Golutvinskiy, and Brusenevskiy monasteries have exercised a significant influence on all facets of the lives of the people of Kolomna. Kolomna was one of the regional centers of Orthodoxy. The

Krutitskiy and Kolomna metropolitans were highly respected by the Orthodox clergy. So religious feeling in these regions has fairly deep historical roots. This must not be forgotten.

Of course, there are other reasons, too, for the fact that even today quite a few people continue to be attracted to the church. One young woman, for example, explained the reason that she got married in the church was that she had had a hard life. She had married several times, and each time unsuccessfully. Now she is hoping that the church ritual will have a beneficial influence on her new husband, that he will love her and take care of the family.

A study made at the locomotive building plant, the motor vehicle combine, the Sovkhoz imeni Dimitrov, the hospital and polyclinic in the community of Shchurovo, in the service sphere, and among teachers at a number of schools showed that the present system of atheist propaganda is hopelessly out of date and needs fundamental restructuring.

I was told about a lecture held at one of the shops of the Locomotive Building Plant imeni V. V. Kuybyshev. The lecturer gave a thorough and understandable talk on the place and role of religion in the contemporary world and the crisis it is going through today. One could sense that he had been able to prepare himself well. He gave vivid examples and persuasive conclusions, but then the lecture ended and the audience began asking questions.

"You mentioned the harm that religion does. Then why does our state give orders to priests?"

"In Kolomna we have 60 divorces for every 100 marriages. Maybe a church marriage really can strengthen the family?"

"You said that fewer and fewer people are turning to religion. Then why do many people in our city baptize their children and bury their relatives with a religious ceremony?"

The lecturer did not expect such questions and tried to evade them with general statements, but the audience sensed this and began to leave. The discussion did not come off. This unfortunately typical example reflected many mistakes in the training of lecturers and the organization of their work.

It used to be that a lecturer would come to the Znaniye Society and say, "I am giving a lecture on such and such a subject." They would write him a pass and he would go off to speak. No one was interested in who the audience would be and whether they really wanted to hear a lecture on, say, "New Holidays and Rituals."

The lecture organizers in Kolomna now identify the needs, desires, and characteristics of the particular audience in advance, and then recommend a lecturer accordingly.

A certification of lecturers was held in the city, and the party committees were required to send their most capable and respected people, ones with a taste for atheist work, to be trained as lecturers. At the same time adjustments were made in the faculty of scientific atheism at the university of Marxism-Leninism. In the second year of study now students devote most of their attention to the practical skills of working with their listeners. Each student prepares a lecture, orienting himself to the needs of some particular audience. Unfortunately, we still do not have very many propagandists capable of doing individual work. This question was discussed in the gorkom and they decided to involve teachers and district doctors in this activity. Both groups have more opportunities to meet with people in a home situation, talk about raising children, and discuss other concerns. That kind of trust is especially important when talking with believers. The most worthy teachers and doctors were chosen and recommended for study at the permanent school of organizers of atheist work. The first graduation will take place soon. And we must say that the party gorkom has great hopes for it.

In Kolomna people are also thinking of how to strengthen work on atheist indoctrination by carrying out social programs. Here is an example. The suburban village of Shchurovo has a Palace of Culture. Before you could not force people to go there. Now different sections and interest clubs operate there and evenings of leisure are held. People know about them in Voskresensk, Yegoryevsk, and Ozery. It can be said: that's nothing--sections, clubs, youth cafes... Perhaps that's so. But those who have lived in the village for a long time and have the opportunity to compare, see that the changes are significant. If you had asked a year ago who most determines the community's spiritual life, the cultural workers or the churchmen, many people would have thought for a while before they answered. But today at many meetings organized by the palace you can also see people who until very recently never went anywhere but church.

Unfortunately, there are other examples. Take that same Sovkhoz imeni Dimitrov where the above-mentioned St. Nicholas Church is located. It has considerable influence on the spiritual life of the village of Cherkizovo--beyond comparison with the local club. A female worker at the sovkhov, a party member, for example, fell under the influence of the church's priests. The communists expelled her from their ranks. A short time passed and even the Komsomol members had to take these measures against their comrade.

The decisions are fair but one must admit that such measures cannot become the main ones in indoctrination. After all, if the situation which has developed is approached objectively, the leadership of the sovkhov bears no small share of responsibility. The question of building a new club has been on the agenda for a long time--but all to no avail. And what is more, the failure in organizing a Komsomol-youth brigade in animal husbandry is explained by the fact that the sovkhov did not manage to create the normal conditions for work, organize leisure time, and provide housing.

In general, though, the farm is a strong one, but at what expense? The director preferred outsiders, but leisure time and housing did not hold much interest for them. The main thing for them is to earn money. The director paid them and there was not enough money to repair the club, even a cosmetic

repair. It was no accident that an argument started up between him and the new partkom secretary V. Gudkin, who believes, and the gorkom supports him, that the sovkhos will lose many working hands if it does not resolve social problems, organize leisure time, and provide the people with housing. Now, it seems, headway has been made. An estimate has been made and the erection of the new club will soon begin. A covered dancing area is being built on the banks of the Moscow River. A place for a youth cafe has been found. The problem of housing has also begun to be solved. Many people have already settled in homes built with sovkhos money.

I will not assert that only the absence of a club and poor organization of labor at the farm lead people to religion. That would be an oversimplification. But on the other hand, atheist propaganda will hardly be effective if lectures on the harm of religion are given in a cold unattractive club against a background of primitive posters. And saying that to be an atheist means to be a kind, responsive person will remain empty words if the farm managers are not concerned about people.

Now, when people see the changes and feel their reality, they regard propaganda in general and atheist propaganda in particular differently. This is obvious if just from the fact that people are more willing to come to atheist lectures. When the Central House of Scientific Atheism holds traveling meetings of the "club living room," the hall is usually full. At the request of the residents of the community of Shchurovo work has begun on the Iskra atheist club. In the village of Cherkizovo, the librarian V. Yegorova has organized a club for readers of the journal NAUKA I RELIGIYA. Teachers, schoolchildren, and sovkhos workers come to its meetings.

All these things are signs of new developments. However, the gorkom is soberly and self-critically evaluating what has been done and sees that by no means all lecturers and organizers of atheist work are seeking new approaches, turning to the urgent problems of life, and studying how to work individually with people. Out of habit many managers believe that ideological work is a concern of only the secretary of the party organization. So there are quite frequent cases where the party committee cannot find a common language with the manager and work suffers as a result. In Kolomna people also complain about poor information on how the reorganizing of atheist propaganda is going in other regions of the country, what interesting things can be borrowed, and what innovations scientists are proposing.

I am sure that the Kolomna propagandists are not the only ones awaiting this help.

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CULTURE

FILM DIRECTOR DEFIES DEMANDS FOR SELF-CENSORSHIP

PM181127 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by USSR People's Artist M. Savitskiy, full member of the USSR Academy of Arts, under the rubric "Cinema": "Courage of the Truth"]

[Excerpts] I have watched the movie made by the director Mikhail Ptashuk which is based on the story "Sign of Trouble" [Znak Bedy] by Lenin Prize winner Vasil Bykov. The movie is so staggering that you do not immediately come to your senses and realize that this is 1987 and not 1941. While accurately preserving the structure and subject of the story, its movie version has grown into an independent and truly tragic work.

I am not writing a review of the movie or analyzing its merits and shortcomings. The first viewers have already made their assessment of it—a unanimous and high assessment, just as for the movie "Go and Have a Look." But, strange though it may seem, the viewers might not have seen it at all, at any rate not in the form in which they have finally seen it. The Belorussian State Cinematography Committee tried to make M. Ptashuk, the director, "cut" the picture ruthlessly. Those who ventured to do this were not in the least embarrassed by the fact that the movie was based on a work that had been awarded the Lenin Prize or that the author [of the film] himself had declared: There have been no ideological or artistic "distortions" and "deviations" from the story, and everything is in full accordance with his design. Nevertheless, V.V. Matveyev, chairman of the Belorussian State Cinematography Committee, posted up an order unconditionally obliging the director to conduct "vivisection," otherwise: "You will no longer work with us."

It is good that the director stood his ground, it is good that there was intervention from higher up in Moscow and that the talented work saw the light of day. But what if...? As you see, here is a topic for discussion: Truth in life and truth in art.

What were they afraid of in the movie? Like the story itself, it includes "digressions" into [the protagonist] Stepanida's biography, into her past, into the times of collectivization. It tells vividly and with artistic cogency how Stepanida fought against the unjustified "dekulakization" of middle peasants and even poor peasants in her village, in other words against distortion of the party line. Stepanida always stood for honesty, justice, and humanity.

There have been difficulties and mistakes in our country's history--history must be seen as it is. The party has said that it does not intend to depict difficult matters in a rosy light today. The unadorned mirroring of history in art "militates" precisely for the socialist law of the truth and reflects life with its complex dialectics, errors, and delusions, but also with its incontestable achievements. The years of collectivization are a reality of our life, a part of the people's fate with all its contradictions. It must not be forgotten that we were the first in the hitherto unknown business of building a new world.

Memory and conscience are inseparable. When we honestly and simply tell ourselves the whole truth, that is a triumph of conscience. Conscience means constant moral self-analysis. Admission of mistakes to oneself and to people is the only worthy way for every person and all of society. Today we sharply condemn silence out of fear, impunity of evil, self-interest, and arbitrariness. And "Sign of Trouble" has shown with ruthless candor how certain people who appropriated power took cover behind the party's authority and the people's trust in order to do evil. Today the party tells the people about that honestly and openly.

At the same time as showing the force of evil, the movie also shows the pettiness of evil. Art molds a person's attitude to good and evil. Art does not punish but educates. By preserving experience of human relations and accumulating it, it becomes the custodian of the people's conscience. It turns to every person and speaks with everyone personally. In the final analysis, art molds the person who can improve this social system and society from positions of its progressive ideology.

Those who wanted to "touch up" "Sign of Trouble" might say: In general, the picture is about the war' are not the episodes relating to the thirties artificial "inserts"? No, these episodes are a harmonious part of both the story and the movie. They are utterly essential for explaining Stepanida's character on the one hand and the roots of the treachery of such "nonpersons" as Sventkovskiy, Guzh, and Kolondenok on the other.

And now I think: What if the director had not held out and had agreed to "cut" his picture? It simply would not have existed. It would have been another movie "about the war." And I am not sure that it would have touched the viewer's heart.

The courage to speak the truth has always been necessary. Today it is more necessary than ever--the party has adopted the policy of restructuring. Those who create art and who direct it must also restructure themselves. Both the tasks and the responsibility must be in common.

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MOSCOW WEEKLY REVIEWS TVARDOVSKIY POEM

PM171400 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 March 1987 carries on page 4 under the heading "Liberation" a 2,000-word review by Yevgeniy Sidorov of Aleksandr Tvardovskiy's poem "By Right of Memory" ["Po Pravu Pamyati"], published in ZNAMYA No 2 and NOVYY MIR No 3, 1987. Sidorov described Tvardovskiy's visit to the YUNOST Editorial Offices in 1969, when "he evidently still hoped to print this text, if not in his own NOVYY MIR, then perhaps here in THE YOUTH JOURNAL." Explaining that his own journal was going through "bad times" and could not publish the poem, Tvardovskiy read it aloud to the YUNOST staff. What struck Sidorov most about the poem was "not the merciless lines about Stalin, not the theme of involuntary filial guilt that no repentance can erase, but something else, something profound and strong in its historical and psychological truth." Sidorov quotes passages from the poem and observes that its publication today shows that "time has caught up with Tvardovskiy." The poet, he says, restores the "once forgotten pages of Soviet history" on behalf of the living and the dead. Sidorov places the poem within the context of Tvardovskiy's other work, describing it as an "epic picture of national life." The poem is written not only "by right of memory," but "by the right of a communist who wholeheartedly accepted the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress." "The leader's personality cult and the consequences of that cult can only be fully overcome in an atmosphere of broad openness and unconditional return to the democratic foundations of state and public life. What the poet finds most intolerable is imposed oblivion, the real danger of not learnign the terrible lessons of the past." Sidorov goes on to speak of Tvardovskiy's "historical optimism," revealed in the image of Lenin presented in the last section of the poem, an image "far removed from any deification." The idea of historical creativity, the precept of Leninism, in which "the son is responsible for the father" and hard experience is seen as a "healing infusion," is, Sidorov argues, also the subject of Abuladze's movie "Repentance," for which the way was paved by "Tvardovskiy's poetic testament and the bold, honest books of certain other writers whose hour has come and which are reaching a wide public today." Sidorov concludes that "tragedy needs a social atmosphere associated with a conscious sense of victory, of successfully overcoming an important segment of national history or at least the premonition of that victory, and with the need for decisive social changes based on profound faith in their moral and historical correctness." Today is such a time, he says, and Tvardovskiy's last poem is "highly topical for our literature."

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SOCIAL ISSUES

YOUNG 'FASCISTS' SHOOT SOVIET WAR MEMORIAL

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by Adel Kalinichenko of POLYARNYA PRAVDA: "We Give the Floor to a Publicist from Murmansk: Those Who Have Betrayed a Memory"]

[Text] No, they are not thousands of stones grown forever into the frozen land--they are thousands of gravestones over the graves of the fallen sons of Russia. They are not mounds standing one after another, but burial vaults of the fighting men who laid down their lives in defending the Soviet Polar Region. And that is why the cold lakes of this kray should be transparent as tears, lakes of tears. Tears of the widows, mothers, and sisters of those soldiers who sleep the eternal sleep near the marshy banks of the lakes. And the silence around is like an eternal moment of silence that does not end. Ever!

This land is now called the Valley of Glory. It was called the valley of death in the war. It took the enemy more than three years to cross it and take Murmansk. Tens of thousands of our fighters were killed on its rocky fields of battle and the permafrost was warmed from their hot blood.

The Valley of Glory is a valley of our grateful memory. The monuments and obelisks and live flowers at their feet are like a symbol of remembrance.

The land was mournfully silent for 42 years.

But suddenly shots were heard. Fifty shots at the monuments!

It happened on a fine Saturday evening when six fellows on their way to fish made a random stop not far from the memorial. They split a case of beer, got a rifle, and made a fire. At first they shot at empty bottles placed at the foot of the monuments and then they began to shoot at the monuments. They aimed at the date, 1941, and the words: "The Motherland Remembers Her Sons"... The shooting continued for about three hours...

From a conversation in the investigative isolation cell with 23-year-old Sergey Belytsyn:

"Your grandfather was in the war!"

"He was."

"What sector did he fight in? Where was he when the war ended?"

"I don't know."

"Did he have medals?"

"Most likely."

"Didn't your parents ever tell you about it?"

"I didn't ask them."

"What books did you read about the war?"

"I don't even remember now. On the whole I didn't read anything about the war."

"Did you see films?"

"I saw them."

"What was your favorite?"

"I don't remember that either."

"Are you a Komsomol member?"

"No."

"Why?"

"I don't know."

"Why did you fire at the monument?"

"It was just something to shoot at, that's all. We didn't know what we were doing... "

It reminded me of 1984, Magdeburg, an evening of German-Soviet friendship at a sugar refinery. Laughter, noisy fun, we were singing songs with our arms on each other's shoulders. We were dancing to the music of amateur musicians. A elderly German invited me to dance:

"Bitte," a galant bow of the head and we sailed into an easy, slightly archaic waltz.

"Have you ever been in our country, in Russia?" I asked the man.

"Ja, ja!" he energetically nodded his head. "1942, near Leningrad"

Lord, what could I do with my suddenly lifeless legs, with the polite smile on my face which had turned into a steely grimace, what to do with my arm lying on that shoulder where a German rifle had once hung? A rifle which was aimed at a soldier defending the city of Lenin. I had never seen my grandfather. He had died of starvation in the Leningrad blockade. The winter of 1942... But I saw next to me the eyes of one of the people because of whom my grandfather had died and because of whom another 20 million other countrymen of mine had died.

And 18-year old Andrey Kukolev, a student at a SPTU [agricultural vocational-technical school], who only a month before this new crime had been convicted for malicious hooliganism and assault and battery on a man and sentenced to one year in jail with execution of the sentence suspended for a year, also "didn't know," as the German might have said, "Nichts verstanden." Despite his criminal record, Andrey remained in the Komsomol! Slippery and impenetrable, he did everything he could to confuse the investigation, refused to give testimony, and laid the blame on his accomplices. And this when it was he who led his "platoon" in the attack on the monuments, distributed the cartridges, and commanded the "battle."

Pavel Gulyayev also "didn't know" what he was doing, a 23-year old driver who had served in the border troops and been awarded the badge of "Outstanding Member of the Border Troops," 1st and 2nd degree. He not only took the rifle from Kukolev's hands but even said: "I'll show you how border troops can shoot."

"I really wanted to shoot and not disgrace myself in front of the guys," he said in a deep voice, as an excuse. It was so unnatural and strange to hear these childish explanations from the lips of an already grown man. But at that time a great deal became clear. When a search was made, weapons were found at Gulyayev's house, including a homemade knife with a swastika. This swastika scratched on the handle, by the way, like his explanation of why he shot, was not simply evidence of a delayed childhood. All this, in my opinion, is a manifestation of the most primitive lack of principles bordering on betrayal of our ideals and values. And after all he crossed the line with ease when he shot at his own people. Even though they were of stone, they had already been shot at once. By the fascists!

Fifteen-year-old Georgiy Pertsev was also in the company of the "snipers." The winner of a mathematics olympiad, a pupil in school with a knack for math, and an expert in and fan of Somerset Maugham and Jack London. Unlike the rest of the riflemen, he is very developed intellectually, well-read, and offers hope. But these are not synonyms of wisdom and spirituality. And if a mass of information is put in the young man's head, as in a computer, but the computer is not connected by reliable cables with the heart, then there is no great difference, it turns out, between an ignorant and a well-read person. Both of them are deaf.

Weary from the "excitement," Georgiy lay down to sleep on a bench there not far from the fraternal grave. And he slept soundly and serenely.

Igor Belyakov, 20 years old, is a driver from the Udarnik Kolkhoz and a Komsomol member. He is quiet and modest, and is "characterized positively." And he behaved more quietly than the rest--"only shot twice." But is it really important how many times? It is important that he could do it. It is important that approaching the fraternal grave where people of his own age lay, he was not paralyzed and did not turn to stone from shame at the enormity of what was being done.

The conversation with 23-year-old Aleksey Yevtyukhov gave me the feeling that he really was repentant.

"My neighbors in the cell don't even want to talk to me, my mother calls me a primitive fascist. It's all true. Who am I now after this? I can't look anybody in the eyes."

Unlike his friends, Aleksey knew the geneology of his family. He knew that one of his grandfathers died at the very start of the war and another went to Berlin. Then why did they not rise up before his eyes like an invincible barrier when he raised the rifle to aim at the Monument?

"The Motherland remembers her sons" who gave their lives so that She existed, so that She lived. Each of us, regardless of the time we live, is a small part of the Motherland. Kinship with the country, with its history, and with spiritual values is what unites us and makes us compatriots and citizens. We have all grown up with invisible but strong roots in our Soviet land. From it we derive strength, wisdom, and everything by which we live.

The trial, which lasted a whole week, did not, alas, leave a sense of the complete victory of this consciousness of patriotic love of fellow men over spiritless evil. The "fans" of those who sat at the dock initially affected unnatural gaiety and a free-and-easy manner, loud heckling, and feeble jokes. And when the sentence was announced, the boys, their hair dyed in a punk style, suddenly... began to sob. In a fit of "compassion" someone from the hall yelled hysterically: "Fellows, we will avenge you!" The person who yelled immediately dissolved into the crowd. But even though he disappeared, he is among us, wearing our clothes, speaking our words, approvingly assenting to our appeals. Whom did he plan to avenge and how?

Many people probably have read A. Voznesenskiy's poem "Rov" [The Ditch], published in the July issue of YUNOST. "The Simferopol trial did not stop"--the poet is right. The trial of the "riflemen" is a continuation of the trial of the "gold-diggers." Different motives, different articles of the Criminal Code, and different personalities among the criminals, but the primary cause of the crimes is the same: human indifference, immaturity, abnormality, and displacement of all concepts of values.

"Where do you lead to, ditch," the poet asks. This "ditch" in which people degenerate into hyenas leads, alas, a long way--even to the Valley of Glory.

Military graves have been opened and plundered there for many years and medals and stars have been stolen from the gravestones. It seems that a "landing party" has reached this Valley of Our Grief and Remembrance, our Conscience, and our Glory. It operates shamelessly--defiles, desecrates, pillages, and shoots. And commits more evil.

Two men came to Podkov Lake for a little fishing last fall. One of them was Nikolay Zalisko. He piled his things in a fish hut and began to light a fire in the little stove. In a few minutes Zalisko was dead and his comrade seriously wounded. Someone's hand, if not the same one which had desecrated the graves then one just as criminal and blinded by inconceivable evil, "took care of" the unfamilar fishermen--he laid a German shell underneath the wood in the stove.

Who was the cruel young man who threw the shell into the stove avenging, and for what? And why was the "delayed action mine" which slumbered in his soul for many years not noticed, why didn't it arouse anyone's concern? We certainly saw those empty eyes.

Four years ago pupils from GPTU [city vocational-technical school] No 48 in Moscow who had come to Kola region, to the Valley of Glory for an "excursion to the sites of battles," wrote indecent things on the memorials placed on the defense line and bawled off-color songs to guitar accompaniment without listening to the war veteran's story of suffering and the battles that had occurred there. Of the 15 people only 5 agreed to go to Pikshuyev Cape; the rest stayed to sunbathe. And on the 150-kilometer trail no one offered to help the 60-year-old front-line soldier carry his heavy pack. However, it is true that he was against those lines that were painted on the monument with charcoal.

In talking with me the director of the SGPTU was at a loss: "After all we brought exhibits for the military-patriotic museum..."

So how can we hold the kids responsible? What does their guilt consist of if adults sometimes are unable to sense the difference between a tribute to memory and sacrilege, between a juvenile's real motive and falsehood and showing off. How often our military-patriotic measures become events completely overorganized which not only cannot move the soul and awaken lofty civil feelings but which cause exactly the opposite reaction--annoyance and boredom. The military-patriotic approach of those "supervising" the renowned division of students of GPTU No 48, is a thing of the past, of course. And it would not be worth recalling it if it were not symptomatic. If the blasphemous escapade of its participants had been an accident. After all, Kukolev, Belitsyn, Gulyayev, Belyakov, Yevtyukhov, and Pertsev also spent their adolescent years within the walls of their schools and PTU's. They were also taught glorious combat traditions. Meetings with veterans, rallies, gatherings, lessons on the past were held... And what came of it. It did not get through, as they say, it did not kindle the sparks of patriotism in them.

The material damage done by firing at the monuments was determined with surprising accuracy. It amounted to 414 rubles and 9 kopecks. But how can we calculate the damage done by our indifference to those who demand fixed

attention and the great and difficult work of indoctrinating the soul? Patriotic feelings do not take seed in the wastelands of formalism. They bloom and open only in the vicinity of humanism, kindness and sensitivity, and the ability to value what is beautiful and accept purity as the norm and filth as a defect and anomaly. It is not simple to foster and indoctrinate all this--even in our own children.

I think that we lose the battle for the souls of young people when we do not enter the fight and when pedagogues and Komsomol leaders slumber over papers, not knowing and not wanting to know what is going on in the hearts and minds of Komsomol members. We lose when elders turn their backs: "Well, what can be done with this hooligan? Where is he headed?" But he goes just where they allow him to go. We allow him! Meanwhile, when some of us had no time, others brushed him aside, and still others gave up; "they" become adults and members of our society. And it is society which has to pay for our apathy and our indifference.

After the sacrilege in the Valley of Glory, which shook all of us who knew about it, the editorial office of the oblast paper POLYARNAYA PRAVDA received dozens of anxious, impassioned letters. And not only from war veterans whose feelings are well understood--even from workers, students, pupils, soldiers, sailors, fishermen, and kolkhoz members. A great love for the Fatherland and its difficult past nourishes their just anger. Many letters demanded the severest punishment for the six criminals. People's anger can be understood, but such a demand is probably unfair. We must not now judge by the laws of war time. It is now a time of peace, a constructive time--and constructive in terms of the human individual. To lose a man is easy but to raise one undistorted and force him to understand guilt is much more complicated. But this is also our duty to those who, defending the Motherland and saving the future, remained in the Valley of Glory.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

JUVENILE CRIME RISES IN SVERDLOVSK OBLAST

Moscow SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA in Russian No 18, Sep 86 p 25

[Article by G. Shlyapnikov, chairman of the Sysertskiy Rayon People's Court in Sverdlovsk Oblast: "To Bring Up a Worthy Younger Generation"]

[Text] The level of legal offenses committed by juveniles in our rayon was rather high during the last 2 years. The need became acute to take steps to prevent crime within this group of young people. Measures were worked out, taking the situation in every working and educational collective into account, and included in the rayon long-range plan for preventing legal offenses. This has made it possible to discover the causes and conditions contributing to commission of the offenses, uncover the basic deficiencies in the legal education activity of one or another collective, and take action on the basis of the available information.

For a year, judges and workers of the public prosecutor's office and the police, with the participation of representatives of the inspection office for juvenile cases and the juveniles' teachers and parents, as well as other interested persons and persons responsible for the juveniles' conduct, have been conducting individual talks regularly with those on record in the inspection office as convicted under articles 44 and 46¹ of the RSFSR UK [Criminal Code]. We also bring people's representatives into the work with difficult juveniles. The talks are conducted right in the court, in public schools, and in vocational-technical schools. During the talks, attention is devoted to all aspects of the juvenile's life. In the process, taking his personality traits into account, we unobtrusively, and not detracting from his human dignity, discover the negative factors that are impeding the juvenile's correction. During the meetings, we try to have him become aware of the illegality of his acts and give them the proper evaluation. We also carry out constant surveillance over the juvenile's studies and work and his behavior in spare time, which makes it possible to prevent a negative influence from those around him.

The individual educational work is combined with the conducting of parental conferences and lessons in the "Parents and Children" legal knowledge motion-picture lecture halls, where sentences imposed with respect to juveniles and the causes of their illegal behavior are discussed. We believe that these measures heighten the parents' responsibility for their children's destiny.

The experience of past years has shown that hooliganism and other offenses often are committed in dormitories and, as a rule, during the evening hours, when supervision over the residents is relaxed. Therefore, we devote considerable attention to legal education work with juveniles residing in dormitories, of which there are about 20 in our rayon. We have achieved favorable results through raids conducted by court officials in the rayon's dormitories. The results of the raids have been discussed at meetings of the rayon coordination and methodology council for legal propaganda and the ispolkoms [executive committees] of local soviets, and in the party raykom [rayon committee] office, and they have been reported in the press.

As a result of the whole set of measures, the number of crimes has been reduced sharply: During 5 months of this year, the crime rate among juveniles fell by 42.1 percent, including hooliganism--by 33.3 percent, and crime overall in the rayon--by 23.5 percent. There was no second offense or cancellation of probation [otsrochka] with respect to juveniles convicted under articles 44 and 46¹ of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

Having analyzed court experience in juvenile cases, we have determined that the same crimes are being committed in certain populated places. Thus, juveniles mainly committed thefts of radio parts in the village of Shchelkun, and in the city of Aramil, thefts of motor vehicles [avtomototransport].

We introduced proposals in the appropriate local soviets about creating a radio club [kruzhok] in the village of Shchelkun, and in the city of Aramil--resuming operation of the motor vehicle club [avtoklub], which has been inactive for a long time. They agreed with us. Now an amateur radio station is operating in the village of Shchelkun, and in the city of Aramil--the motor vehicle club, which attract many juveniles--radio technology and motor transport enthusiasts. And, as a consequence, thefts of state property by juveniles in these populated places have been reduced to one-fourth as much as before, and thefts of personal property to one-ninth as much as before, and instances of hooliganism have become fewer as well.

The work of the people's court in the fight against drunkenness and alcoholism also has been stepped up. Along with participation in village meetings and seminars dedicated to these problems and the rendering of individual decisions, we hold itinerant court sessions for the most pressing cases, and we conduct them in the places where offenses committed on the grounds of drunkenness have acquired the greatest prevalence.

During 1985, we heard 19 cases concerning limiting the legal competence of citizens abusing alcoholic beverages, and during 5 months of 1986--42, including 21 cases in itinerant court sessions. During 5 months of this year, 24 cases of assignment to a treatment-while-working night sanitarium [lechebno-trudovoy profilaktoriy] were heard, and of these, 19 were in itinerant court sessions. Compulsory measures of medical nature for alcoholics (article 62, RSFSR Criminal Code) have been applied to 41 percent of those sentenced this year. Intensifying the fight against drunkenness has made it possible to reduce the number of crimes committed in a drunken state by 29 percent.

We are constantly seeking effective forms of work to eliminate the causes and conditions contributing to the commission of crimes by juveniles.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

JOURNAL CITES STATISTICS ON ALCOHOLISM, CRIME

Moscow SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA in Russian No 18, Sep 86 pp 24-25

[Article by Candidate of Juridical Sciences R. Gotlib, RSFSR honored jurist, and Candidate of Juridical Sciences L. Romanova, Far East State University docent, under the rubric "The Main Thing--Preventing Crimes": "Preventing Drunkenness and the Leading of a Parasitic Life Style"]

[Text] Law application experience in the Maritime Kray convincingly attests that it is possible to fight effectively against social parasitism and vagrancy if the requirements of the laws directed against drunkenness and alcoholism are vigorously and aggressively enforced.

A firm course toward eradicating this social ill has been taken in the kray, as in the whole country, in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee decree of 7 May 1985 "On Measures to Overcome Drunkenness and Alcoholism" and the USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures to Overcome Drunkenness and Alcoholism, and to Eradicate the Home Distilling of Alcoholic Beverages." Primary attention is being devoted to raising the level of all the activity for reeducating violators of discipline and good order, and to strengthening the legal influence measures for unexcused absentees, loafers, persons using alcoholic beverages on the job, and other unstable individuals, from among whom the number of social parasites and vagrants usually is augmented.

The data of conducted research permit drawing this conclusion: The kray's courts have stiffened the punitive practices for crimes committed in a drunken state, home distilling of alcoholic beverages, speculating in wine and vodka products, and leading a parasitic life style. In Vladivostok, Nakhodka, and a number of other cities and rayons, more active exposing of persons appearing at work in a drunken state, as well as those drinking alcoholic beverages together on the job, and the application of administrative-legal and public influence measures to them, have led to a strengthening of the stability of the personnel and a reduction in their turnover at many enterprises.

Unfortunately, such positive processes are not characteristic of all the cities and rayons. Preventive measures for drunkenness and social parasitism have been carried out without the proper cooperation and coordination in many cases. The lack of a comprehensive approach to the solution of these problems has led to a meager practical return from the steps being taken. As is apparent from

materials of the criminal cases, most of those convicted under article 209 of the RSFSR UK [Criminal Code] once were in a production environment, but later were dismissed for unexcused absences and other violations of discipline caused by addiction to alcoholic beverages. By no means have the labor collectives fully used the administrative-legal and public influence measures foreseen by effective law in the fight against drunkenness on the job.

Not infrequently, enterprise and establishment administrations have rid themselves of "difficult" workers, especially young ones, under all kinds of pretexts. But expelling young people from the production social sphere has led to their long-lasting social stagnation. Thus, 25-year-old "Dalenergo" ["Far East Electric Power"] driver K. habitually got drunk, and often did not go to work. He had been getting away with all of this. But after his dismissal for unexcused absences, he was not offered a job for more than a year, lived on unearned income, and was convicted under part 1, article 209 of the criminal code. When hearing this case, the Pervorechenskiy Rayon People's Court did not react in any way to the labor collective's passivity in reeducating the drunkard and unexcused absentee.

Sometimes enterprise administrations are unwilling to hire persons with respect to whom an official warning has been issued about ceasing to lead a parasitic life style. Such occurrences were discovered when analyzing court cases in Vladivostok and Artem. And the "Ussurvodstroy" ["Ussuri River Water Resources Construction"] administration, having refused to accept P. for work, noted on the work-assignment document [napravleniye]: "We cannot accept him; the job's nature is associated with field conditions, a fact that facilitates drunkenness." The internal affairs [police], public prosecutor's office, and court agencies did not react to this in any way. According to the studied cases, not a single protest has been advanced. This all attests to extremely insufficient use of preventive measures for the purpose of eliminating the drunkenness contributing to an antisocial life style.

It should be emphasized that the compulsory forms of treatment for parasite alcoholics still are being used insufficiently extensively and effectively. Familiarization with administrative practice materials has shown that the internal affairs [police] agencies do not, in many cases, ensure the assignment to treatment-while-working night sanitariums of persons engaging in vagrancy or leading a parasitic life style who are suffering from alcoholism and in need of treatment, and that the medical and work rehabilitation of such persons is largely unproductive. Thus, over 90 percent of the offenders who are detained in the city of Vladivostok's holding and disposition facility have used alcoholic beverages frequently, and most of these, moreover--in substantial amounts. Every other one began drinking at an early age, often during the juvenile period, and, as a rule, under the influence of an unwholesome family situation, morally degenerate, drinking parents, etc. Many among the number of detainees have been treated for alcoholism before. Nevertheless, extremely rarely have the internal affairs [police] agencies conducted a narcotics examination of offenders to decide the question of assigning them to an LTP [treatment-while-working night sanitarium], and the rest have been released

from the holding and disposition facility without the taking of any kind of anti-alcohol measures, which, in many respects, has given rise to the further parasitic existence of the persons in this category, and their bringing to criminal account.

Liberalism and a lack of principle have been displayed in a number of instances when deciding questions of the administrative accountability of social parasites, vagrants, violators of passport regulations, and persons placed in a medical sobering-up facility [medvytrezvitel]. Some of the latter have completely avoided any kind of punishment, inasmuch as they have had no permanent place of residence and work. Meanwhile, according to a number of the materials, there have been grounds for applying administrative arrest for repeated violations of the anti-alcohol legislation.

Despite the prevalence of drunkenness among offenders in the category being examined, preliminary administrative investigation and court agencies have not been devoting proper attention to investigating the circumstances relative to applying compulsory measures of medical nature with respect to confirmed alcoholics. Examination by narcotics experts has, by no means, been prescribed in all necessary cases, which hinders proper use of the criminal law measures of the fight against drunkenness. Thus, according to the studied cases, the courts have applied article 62 of the criminal code with respect to only 67 percent of those sentenced. In the remaining cases, this question was not resolved, although to do so was necessary judging by the case materials.

According to the studied cases, a strict social and legal appraisal of drunkenness as a circumstance inciting to social parasitism and vagrancy has been provided extremely seldom in sentences. Thus, the preventive significance of a court sentence in the fight against alcoholism has been lessened substantially.

The law's requirements for strict enforcement of accountability for abetting juveniles in drunkenness and an antisocial life style still are not being taken sufficiently into account. Those guilty of this are not always exposed and punished in criminal procedure. Suffice it to say that instances of conviction for the combination of crimes foreseen by articles 209, 210, and 210¹ of the criminal code were not encountered in a single one of the studied cases. At the same time, there were substantial grounds in a number of the cases for pressing versions of the convicted parasite's involvement in the drunkenness of juveniles. Thus, a certain V. avoided socially useful labor for an extended length of time, wandered about the kray's cities and rayons, led an immoral, parasitic life style, and, when he did make an appearance in his family, his association with his son consisted of using the latter for obtaining alcoholic beverages and having drunken sprees with him. Nevertheless, the question of criminal accountability under article 210¹ of the criminal code was not raised.

Increasing the effectiveness of justice's educational and preventive influence has great significance in the matter of the fight against alcoholism and leading a parasitic life style. The urgency of this problem is attested by analysis

of court practices, from which it is apparent that itinerant court sessions have been held in cases concerning the crimes foreseen by article 209 of the criminal code only in isolated instances. Meanwhile, the holding of court proceedings at a defendant's place of residence and in labor collectives would contribute to increasing the proceedings' educational and preventive roles, to creating an atmosphere of intolerance toward drunkenness and social parasitism, and to convincing and effective propagandizing of the anti-alcohol legislation among the population.

Current requirements dictate the need to raise all activity of the agencies of justice to a new level of excellence in order to increase their contribution to the comprehensive solution of the fight against drunkenness and parasitism's urgent problems.

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REGIONAL ISSUES

GROSSU, MSSR PROSECUTOR BLAST CORRUPTION IN HOUSING SECTOR

PM121110 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 12 Dec 86 p 2

[Replies from S. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and I. Chebzn, Moldavian SSR prosecutor, under the rubric "Returning to an Earlier Article": "Protest to the Prosecutor"--first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] "Protest to the Prosecutor"--that was the title of N. Limonov's article (SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 10 and 11 October). In the article the newspaper returned to a whole series of violations in the process of the preliminary investigation into the case of worker Petr Koval, which had been discussed in the courtroom sketch "Two Clean Sheets" (SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 29 March this year). First, unlawful arrest and detention in a solitary confinement block pending investigation, then a year's forced labor. And all this in order to conceal the true culprits in illegal housing allocation, which had been going on for years. In defiance of the facts, in their replies to this article V. Iovv, first secretary of Beltsy Moldavian Communist Party Gorkov, V. Pushkash, chairman of the republic's Supreme Court, and S. Shumeyko, Moldavian SSR deputy prosecutor, basically covered up violations of the norms of social justice.

The article evoked many responses. Chief among them was the demand unswervingly to assert justice. In many letters readers tell of their own troubles too--an unjust verdict, a housing refusal, illegal dismissal from work.... These letters have been sent to the competent bodies for full investigation.

Official replies were also received from the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the republican prosecutor's office.

[Grossu reply begins] The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee reports that the critical material set forth in the articles "Two Clean Sheets" and "Protest to the Prosecutor" was examined at a session of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. The resolution adopted notes that the articles correctly reflect the facts concerning the gross violation of housing legislation in Beltsy City.

These violations were widespread in connection with the commissioning of apartment blocks in the city center, leading to the resettlement of these

apartments of more than 30 leadership workers not in need of improved housing conditions and not in the waiting line. This pernicious practice of allocating apartments without regard for housing legislation was a consequence of the fact that former party gorkom First Secretary V. M. Yukin and former gorispolkom Chairman G. D. Gusak, instead of taking the proper measures to stop these illegal actions, themselves displayed political shortsightedness and lack of principle, violating the principle of social justice and sanctioning the unjustified handover of apartments.

G. A. Botnar, former city prosecutor, exercised inadequate supervision of compliance with housing legislation.

In a resolution adopted on 13 August 1985 "On Instances of Gross Violations of Established Procedure for the Allocation of Housing Space and the Allocation of Land Plots for Individual Housing Construction in the Republic," the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee gave a principled assessment of these negative phenomena, which had become widespread in Beltsy City and other regions. It drew the attention of V. M. Iovv, first secretary of Beltsy party gorkom, to the impermissibility of the shortcomings indicated, and instructed that the actions of the communists who had used their official position to improve their housing conditions illegally be examined within a 3-month period.

However, as was revealed by a check when this question was being prepared for the Moldavian Community Party Central Committee Bureau, V. M. Iovv, first secretary of Beltsy party gorkom, and V. A. Molozhen, chairman of the gorispolkom, did not completely fulfill the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee's demands set forth in the 13 August 1985 resolution.

The party gorkom did not take concrete measures, nor did it point out to primary party organizations the need to resolutely cut short every unjustified instance of the allocation of housing and to take strict party proceedings against communists who had unlawfully improved their housing conditions, as a result of which a number of primary party organizations took a liberal view of communists who had perpetrated these violations. The violations exposed are being eradicated extremely slowly by the gorispolkom.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee relieved V. M. Yukin of his post as Moldavian SSR minister of consumer services for political shortsightedness and for flagrantly flouting the principle of social justice in resolving housing questions and sanctioning the unlawful handover of apartments to leadership workers while he was first secretary of the Beltsy party gorkom.

G. D. Gusak was relieved of his post as deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade for ignoring the demands of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and for numerous gross violations of housing legislation while he was chairman of Beltsy Gorispolkom.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee instructed Kishinev party gorkom to examine the question of party proceedings against CPSU members

Yukin, Gusak, and Botnar, beginning with the primary party organizations, and reprimanded V. M. Iovv, first secretary of Beltsy party gorkom, for failing to take effective measures to fulfill the 13 August 1985 Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee resolution and for lack of principle in evaluating the critical materials published in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA.

V. A. Molozhen, member of the CPSU and chairman of Beltsy Gorispolkom, was severely reprimanded for his lack of exactingness toward ispolkom workers as regards the imposition of order on the housing question and for failing to take effective measures to eliminate the violations.

The Central Committee instructed Beltsy party gorkom and gorispolkom to adopt exhaustive measures to eliminate the violations of housing legislation.

Comrade A. V. Churilov, prosecutor of the general supervision administration at the USSR Prosecutor's Office, having studied the materials of the criminal case, finds no grounds for protesting the sentence passed on P. P. Koval or for taking proceedings against staffers of the Beltsy City prosecutor's office.

S. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

[Cheban reply begins] The article "Protest to the Prosecutor" has been examined.

Gross violations of housing legislation in the allocation of new apartments and improved housing conditions to a number of leaders of the city's enterprises and organizations did indeed occur in Beltsy in 1980-1983. This was done in response to petitions from the party gorkom and gorispolkom leadership as well as republican ministries and departments. Official apartments were also frequently allocated other than for the proper purpose. For these reasons the rights of many families, first and second class invalids, and participants in the Great Patriotic War to receive housing were flouted.

In 1986 to date, the city prosecutor has issued 45 authorizations for administrative eviction of persons arbitrarily occupying housing. In 1984-1986 15 statements of claim were put to the people's court demanding the recognition of orders as ineffective and the eviction of citizens from apartments obtained unlawfully. Criminal proceedings were instituted against 10 people exposed as having committed official fraud and forgery of documents with the aim of improving their housing conditions in violation of the law.

At the same time there were a number of shortcomings in the work of the Beltsy prosecutor's office in implementing prosecutor's supervision of the fulfillment of housing legislation. Local favoritism was not opposed in every case, nor was there a principled assessment of every instance of violation in the allocation of apartments to leadership workers, and unlawful

decisions on granting them housing were not protested. Checks on the fulfillment of this legislation were not carried out in sufficient depth by the gorispolkom.

The article "Protest to the Prosecutor" was discussed at a session of the Moldavian SSR Prosecutor's Office collegium. Comrade Botnar was reprimanded for omissions in the organization of prosecutor's supervision in his period of work at Veltsy City prosecutor. The attention of Comrade Ye G. Russu, the city's present prosecutor, was drawn to shortcomings in the organization and implementation of supervision of the fulfillment of housing legislation.

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